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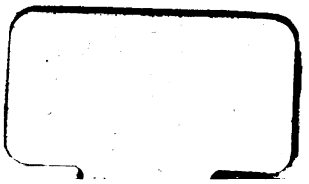

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JANUARY, 1887.

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

PERSON and Personality are terms frequently used, but often with a very indistinct apprehension of the various senses they bear. Much confusion has been caused, both in common and religious discourse, by the neglect of proper definitions. *Personality* belongs to all *Persons* and only to them; and the meaning of the abstract term agrees with that of the noun from which it is formed. Human personality must be known, before there can be any knowledge of that which is Divine; and with both there is the same diversity in the meaning of words. Propositions which are true and important with one sense, are untrue and worthless with another. We propose, therefore, to consider briefly the different kinds of Personality, which should be distinguished in order to avoid error. One kind belongs to *individuals*, another to *societies*, and another to *offices;* while *figurative* language is often employed when no real persons are meant, or persons are referred to in a way which, taken *literally*, cannot possibly be true. All these personalities agree in some things, but differ in others.

I.—Individual Personality.

1. The difference between *persons* and *things* is universally held to be real and important. We speak of ourselves as *persons*, and so of all beings in certain respects similar to us.

In common usage, a Person is one who has rights and duties, and is the object of *moral* approval or disapproval. He is so, because his actions are conscious and voluntary, and he is capable of self-control. He knows and chooses what he does, distinguishing between the *greater* and the *less*, the *better* and the *worse*. The ground of all moral judgment on men is their higher intelligence, and greater freedom of choice. They can compare one course of conduct with another, and can yield to or resist the motives present to their minds. Wherever there is such intelligence and choice there is a *person*, and nowhere else. Personality is not something added, but it is the nature of such a being. Without the intelligence and choice there could not be a *person*, and with these there must be one.

2. Person is the *self* of which we are conscious, and which we know to be the *same*, when considering what we feel and perceive, what we did yesterday and do to-day; and personality belongs to this *self*, which is ever one and the same. Nothing is more certainly known than the oneness and persistence of the same *self*, under many changes. The one *self* sees and hears, remembers and reasons, loves and hates, chooses this or that, approves or censures. It is the same, from childhood to old age, when strong and when feeble, in joy and in sorrow. Abilities, attainments, desires, affections, purposes and character, all may change; but the *soul*, the *self*, is the same. If there is the same self, there is the same person; and if there is not the same self, there is not the same person. If there are two *selves*, two conscious *minds*, whether they think and choose alike or differently, dependently or independently, there are two *persons;* and with a plurality of such persons there must be plurality of minds. These truths are self-evident, and they are the foundations of morality. Personality does not belong to the body, any more than to the clothes. It belongs entirely and exclusively to the conscious *self*, the *mind*, to which alone the intentions and

motives belong, by which all moral judgment is determined. When under present influences men choose to do what they purposed not to do, they are still the same *persons;* for they have the consciousness or conviction of the same *self*, choosing differently at different times. The choice of deliberation, and the choice of impulse, are not alike indications of character; but they belong to the one self, and the same person is responsible for both. The self and the person are one and the same being, the self becoming a person as an infant becomes a man. In the ordinary use of the term a person is a single conscious mind, a *persistent self*, capable of moral action, whose consciousness and personality cannot be divided or transferred.

What are called the higher and lower self, the better and worse self, are not really two, but one and the same self, as the higher and better portion of our nature is exercised and followed, or the lower and worse. So the *old man* and the *new* of St. Paul are two characters, and not two selves.

3. The first and most common evidence of *personal identity* is given by Memory, but this is not the only proof. We are sure that some paper was written by us, though we have no remembrance of writing it; and the testimony of others will convince us that we did something, which we have entirely forgotten. It is not necessary that the evidence of identity should be of any particular kind, but it must be true. If the *mind*, the *self*, be not the same, the *person* cannot be the same. Personal identity includes Mental identity. No one is deservedly praised or blamed for what he merely fancies he did, or for what is untruly attributed to him. "We know that the judgment of God is according to truth" (Rom. ii. 2). He cannot regard any as doing, or having done, that which does not belong to their own choice, and with which their own will is not connected.

4. In common language persons are said to do, not only what they *directly* do, but also what they cause others to do. Our immediate action is very small, and little is ever done by

one person without the agency of others. All the *chosen* consequences of any action, whether desired or not, direct or indirect, are attributed to the *person* who chose them, and he is justly answerable for them. A sovereign governs many countries, though his own action is limited to a small place; and an author changes the opinions and character of all who are influenced by his writings, according to his desire and intention. The connection of mind with mind is not like that of body with body. It does not need any contiguity in time or space, but depends only on thought, purpose, and affection. The greatest and most beneficial effects produced by mind on mind require no visible presence, but are often increased by absence. The mechanical action of one body on another is always limited, for it loses whatever force it communicates; but the moral influence of one mind on others is unlimited. It loses nothing by communicating to others, but has ever increasing power, through transmitted influence, in a sphere continually enlarging.

5. The *states* of mind of which we are conscious have no separate existence, and can be thought of only as belonging to some Mind. They are fleeting appearances, while the *mind*, the *self*, alone continues. There cannot be intelligence without some one who knows; nor choice, without some one who chooses. Human nature is the combination of powers and properties attributed to the mind and body, and supposed to account for their various states. It exists only in human beings. If there is real human intelligence, affection and choice, there must be a human soul, or self, or person; one who knows, loves, and chooses. Mind or soul may exist without personality, as it exists without intelligence and self-control, in infancy and sleep, in the unconsciousness of disease and the disordered consciousness of insanity. But as human intelligence and ability are developed in childhood, and renewed continually in the measure requisite for moral action, so *personality* begins and continues.

6. The mysterious Self, of which every person is conscious, is directly known by us only as the *persistent subject* of all the states of thought, feeling, and action which we experience. It has permanent powers corresponding to these transient states, on account of which they are ever renewed. What there is in each *self*, when conscious and unconscious, through which these states return again and again, it is impossible for us to say. Nor can we tell how the *finite self* is supported and governed by the Infinite Cause ever present in all. But the self, the "I" of which we are conscious, is known more clearly and certainly than any other object; and all other knowledge includes some knowledge of ourselves. If we know anything, we must know that we *ourselves* know it. This is not an inference, but an intuition, and it has the highest possible certainty. Of the *self* in others we can know nothing directly, but much indirectly, inferring from ourselves a similar *self* in those around us. The signs of intelligence, affection, and will, seen in human motions and works, or heard in human voices, make known to us the minds, the persons, of kindred and friends; and so of all the inhabitants of the world, present and past. What is directly known of others is very little, but what is indirectly known is more than can be measured or numbered. Though the evidence is of a different kind, it is quite certain; so strong and sure as to make doubt impossible in any sane mind. We can no more doubt the existence and action of the *persons* with whom we live, than the existence and action of our own minds. Just in the same way, similar signs in Nature make known to us the First Cause of all, the Father of the spirits of all men. The evidence of the signs cannot be less, because they are immeasurably superior in number, magnitude, and perfection. If arrangements and adaptations are the sole and sufficient evidence to us of all other human minds, why should they not declare the Supreme Mind? In all material objects the commencement, or change, of motion, shows a pre-

existent Force: and so every mental manifestation shows a pre-existent Mind: either as the *subject*, or the *cause* of conscious intelligence.

7. We can think of the Divine Being only according to the elements given in our own nature. If men had not some resemblance to God in intelligence, affection, and will, they could know nothing of Him. The statements that He is wise, good, and just, would have no meaning. This likeness is not the less real, because it can be only partial. The light reflected from a drop of dew, or a piece of glass, and the light which comes from the sun and stars, have the same nature. In natural objects, as well as in geometrical figures, the same properties and laws are found in the smallest and in the greatest objects. We certainly can think of God, and therefore are able to know something of Him. As a conscious purpose is justly inferred from the small movements and imperfect works of men, so it is inferred from the large movements and perfect works seen in Nature. The inadequacy of human power and wisdom cannot show that no power and wisdom need be supposed, but proves the existence of a power and wisdom adequate to all these effects. As Personality is attributed to all who have the common measure of human intelligence and ability, so it is attributed to Him whose intelligence and power are immeasurably greater. The immense magnitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies are no reason for doubting that all mathematical truths apply to them; and so infinity, independence, and perfection can be no reason for doubting the *personality* of God: though they show the propriety of humility and self-distrust in judging of His works and ways. Human limitation, dependence, and imperfection are no more essential to personality than the accidents of colour, shape, and stature. If the known increase of intelligence and power does not in the smallest degree lessen personality, it is surely unreasonable to suppose that the greatest increase should take it away.

The significance of what is intelligible in Nature is not destroyed because much is still unintelligible; nor is the proof of one purpose disproved, though facts show that it is not the only end purposed and provided for. General laws are found everywhere, and are needed for human instruction and progress, as well as for other reasons. The axioms of natural science are without hesitation transferred from terrestrial to celestial objects; and much is surely known of the latter, though much more remains unknown. So from our own minds and the world around, we may rise to some knowledge of the Invisible and Eternal, who fills heaven and earth. The correspondences and mutual dependences, which show the oneness of the Universe, show also the Unity of the Supreme Intelligence. That there is One God is evident, but there is no proof of another. The progress of Science shows more and more surely that all the powers and objects we examine are limited and dependent, subservient in various ways to ends which they do not know. Through their own conscience, men learn that there must bc a goodness and righteousness above all that they find in themselves; and this perfection can belong only to the *personality* of the One Living God. If it is unreasonable to suppose that He is inferior to men in wisdom and strength, is it not equally so to think that He is less loving and less just? His ways often cannot be understood by us, because always better than ours. The testimony of Nature, from within and without, agrees with that of the Bible, "There is One God, and none other but He." "We are also his offspring."

II.—Social Personality.

1. Besides the oneness of *Self*, to which a complete personality belongs, there is a *Social unity*, resulting from common possessions and mutual services, to which some *personality* is attributed. A family, a tribe, a nation, are examples of such union. The members share to some extent

the same advantages and disadvantages, honour and dishonour. The individuals have their own separate personality according to which they are fully answerable for what they themselves do; and they have also a *social personality*, according to which they are to some extent responsible for what others do. The community is regarded as one person in respect to some things. With a plurality of minds, there is a personal unity; and many agents compose one *person*. This kind of personality is known everywhere. It was recognised in Roman law. "The Law spoke of the State as a *person* . . . So a corporation, or an ecclesiastical institution, was a *person*, quite apart from the individual persons, who formed the one and administered the other."* Blackstone declares that in law, a husband and wife are one person. So an employer and his agent, a sovereign and an ambassador, a people and the government, are one person. What is done by one is, in some things, considered to be done by another. Without a social *union*, there could be no social *personality*, and the latter is according to the nature and extent of the former.

2. Every good belonging to the constitution and condition of mankind depends, more or less, on *association;* and because of this, some participation in loss and sorrow, as well as in gain and enjoyment, is inevitable. The good received from the right conduct of others could not be secured, without some liability to suffer from their wrong conduct. But the good and bad consequences of the actions of others are only partial, unless there is a similar *choice*. The wrong-doing of one may lead to similar wrong-doing in others, or it may occasion the greater good which arises from opposition to evil. And so the right-doing of one may produce the right-doing of many, or occasion the greater evil which comes from resistance to good. The worst things are a perversion of the best. Where there is only a social personality, some words and actions of the subordinate have the full value of those of

* See Sandar's "Institutes of Justinian," p. 28.

the superior; but it is not so with all that is said or done. There may, or may not be entire agreement of purpose and character; but this is not the ground on which it is just to hold some responsible for the actions of others. The social *personality* is according to the nature and extent of the *union*, on which it is based.

3. It would be unjust, and absurdly untrue, to say, because of a *social* personality, that all things done by one were done by another, or might be so considered; that there was but one agent, or that several had in all respects the same nature or power or character. Where there is a social personality, there may be more or less of resemblance between one and another, and more or less of authority may be given by one to another: but perfect likeness is not identity, nor is any measure of derived power and authority. The character of a son may in all things resemble that of his father, and he may receive the full use and enjoyment of all his father's possessions and honours, but the separate personality of each remains. It need not be always asserted, but it always exists. Whatever communion there may be,—likeness, affection, sympathy, co-operation,—there are still two individual persons, with one social personality. Individual personality extends to all times, places, and actions; while social personality belongs only to some of these. What is done by the *Social Person* must be done by some one of those united, but need not be done by all. The worst consequences logical and practical must follow, if the difference between Individual and Social personality is disregarded. No larger or higher object of reverence, trust, and love, can be found in an Individual, than in a Social Person. There is loss and not gain, if a real social personality is from any cause impaired or obscured. Some of these statements are so obvious that their mention may seem to be needless, but though not denied they are often disregarded. J. H. GODWIN.

(*To be continued.*)

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

WHAT was the main subject, the argument, the scope of Mr. Austin Caxton's "History of Human Error"? The over-careful reader whom this question troubles, will find no answer in the splendid but vapid periods of the ingenious biographer of "The Caxtons." He must solve the question for himself. Is it too presumptuous to surmise that at least a large portion of the ponderous History dealt with INTERPRETATION, especially as applied to the Bible? To this conclusion I at least have been brought through study of various schools or systems of interpretation of the sacred books, in which I have found Canon Farrar's recent Bampton Lectures on the "History of Interpretation" a very useful guide. That the history of Biblical interpretation is in the main a history of human error seems at the outset a fearfully sweeping assertion, as it involves the condemnation of a very large proportion of the literary, and, indeed, of the spiritual, energies of most of the writers who have done the best work for the church in all its ages. But one is brought inevitably to some such conclusion even under the guidance of so charitable and withal so clerically minded a writer as Dr. Farrar; and having once attained to it we see immediately how much is explained which otherwise was inexplicable; how much error has been carried over from one school or one writer to another, till the mass has accumulated to such a degree that axioms have come to be firmly rooted and established which in the beginning rested on no basis at all; how, freed from bondage to these traditions of the past, we may yet attain to a freedom in the study of the Bible which the boldest of our predecessors could but imperfectly use; and how the Bible may yield to our generation historical, poetical, and spiritual

truths and beauties unknown before, and at the same time we may pronounce the moral condemnation demanded by conscience on actions and sentiments which under the systems of former ages could only be explained away or ignored.

The history of interpretation performs the same function as the history of everything else. The English constitution of to-day may be understood as to its facts—the rights of classes, the institutions and the dignities of individuals—without reference to its history. But much must appear unjust and anomalous till the history of the constitution is studied. That furnishes the key: and it shows the origin, if it fails to justify the continuance, of things which have become difficult of understanding. So with the interpretation of Biblical books. Many interpretations still remain current which appear intrinsically absurd, till we find out from history their *raison d'être*, which may or may not justify their retention, but at least tells us what they are and whence they came. The history of interpretation, moreover, must be studied to obtain light upon the weighty question which an enlightened but unlearned person very justly and naturally raises when he sees the vast tiers of books, including hundreds of enormous closely-printed folios, in a large library, and is told that they are all interpretations and commentaries on the Bible: Why does the Bible need all this? what peculiarity is there in the language of the Bible, that it should be *interpreted* as no other book is? I venture to think that the history of interpretation, while revealing a whole world of most beautiful religious thought prompted by the Bible, will be found to fully justify our friend's distrust of systems of interpretation, and to show that they have more frequently perpetuated and further elaborated radically false conceptions of the nature of the contents of the Biblical books than thrown any new light upon them.

In dealing with the history of the interpretation of Scripture—for I must refrain from the temptation to illustrate that of Scripture by that of other writers or literatures—we

may with Dr. Farrar recognise at least seven distinct ages, which advanced by the introduction of new methods or the dropping of old ones. They might be designated as *schools*, only that each generally contains several divisions to which that term might more properly be assigned. The first is the Rabbinical, and its origin is in the Jewish schools, which, on the completion of the canon of the Old Testament, found enough to engage them in the settlement of the text and in the elucidation of the Hebrew Scriptures. It existed during nearly a thousand years, and ended about 500 A.D. Being exclusively Jewish, it has for its subject the Old Testament only. The second age is that of the Alexandrian exegesis and of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and its chief personage is Philo. It covers the space from Aristobulus, 180 B.C., to the death of Philo, and so far is concerned with the Old Testament, but its method is continued longer in the Christian schools of Alexandria. These two ages of interpretation are the most important for us, since they gave birth to interpretation as an art, determined its forms and functions, and in so doing raised questions about the meaning and authority of Scripture which were to receive different answers in the following ages. Thus these first two ages contain in themselves the possibilities of the Patristic, Scholastic, Reformatory, and subsequent ages. Had they not led the way in laying down certain principles or suggesting certain ideas, such ideas might never have arisen and dominated the later ages at all.

The Rabbinic exegesis, therefore, must be regarded, in spite of many valuable services which it rendered, as the *fons et origo mali* of later Biblical interpretation. It commenced, according to the usual account, with the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, and the conclusion of their canon of Scripture by Ezra. Indeed, the very conception of a canon naturally, if not necessarily, leads to all the subsequent perversities of exegesis. For, as long as the separate books of

either Testament existed as distinct works, each could be read by itself and required for its contemporaries but little exposition, the text being sufficiently lucid; but when the idea arose that a certain sanctity or inspiration distinguished certain books, and these were separated from all others as a canon or Divine rule, they were naturally believed to contain identical, or at least not discordant conceptions. Hence arose the necessity of commentators to explain what before had not seemed to require explanation, and especially so to harmonise the ideas of the several canonical books as to make all speak in the same sense. This needed great skill and subtilty, and these qualities pervade all the Jewish exegesis; and of course a non-natural sense had constantly to be elicited, to bring absolutely discordant statements into agreement. The prior question remains for us to put: *Why must a Canon be formed?* We in these modern times can see all the evil it has wrought; that it has enforced non-natural uniformity of history, of opinion and of sentiment; that, having been once invented by the Jews, it was repeated by the Christians who made a similar Canon of the New Testament; that in sanctioning certain views as orthodox it has put the stopper on others, which whether truer or not, are at least equally deserving of historical study; but, chief of all, because it introduces into the world the idea of a somehow divinely-sanctioned reading of history and system of religion. Thus the naturally independent judgment of the mind is arrested and made to run in one prescribed groove; and in time the slave grows proud of his chains and will not even consider any other condition as possible, consistently with religion. All this evil has come upon us primarily through the imposition of Ezra's Canon. At the same time, some answer may be found to our question—*Why was it formed?* In ancient times, when books were few and generally anonymous, and the knowledge of the past propagated largely by oral tradition, it was difficult to discriminate

between the true and the false, and desirable to draw up a list of the reliable or standard books which were worthy to be accepted and studied; those not contained in the list being thereby branded as of very little account, or of none at all. If the Canon were understood in this sense, of registering *standard* books, its formation would be a pure advantage. The fault lay not in the original act, but in the later unnecessary ideas that associated themselves with it. Ignorant prejudice spoils an act originally wise. The authority of the canonical books was exaggerated until their statements were accepted as divinely-inspired, and still later as verbally dictated by the Divine Spirit; and the uncanonical were regarded as mere tissues of folly. Still, these high doctrines found by no means general acceptance in any age of interpretation. It is one of the chief advantages gained by a study of the history of Interpretation that it teaches us how in every age every scheme of interpretation, from the highest doctrine of the sanctity of the Canon to the freest mode of dealing with its books, has alternately found it supporters, and this among saints, prelates, and men of confessed authority in the Church as well as among innovators. It was not until long after the disruption of the Church of Rome at the Reformation that party watchwords were used in a way that seems to preclude the possibility of reunion—at least on the subject that now engages us.

But I have wandered far from the Jewish exegesis. This commenced with an explanation of the Hebrew words rendered necessary by a defect in the Hebrew mode of writing, which made itself felt the more, when the spoken language came to differ from that originally written. The alphabet contained letters representing only the consonants and a few of the stronger vowels. Most of the vowels were, therefore, unwritten, and left to be filled in by the wit of the reader. When the spoken language began to differ from the older written one, the reader could no longer supply the wanted

vowels with any security; and as such weighty distinctions as those between active and passive, verb and substantive, were produced solely by the employment of different vowels, the sense of a sentence ran the risk of being entirely mistaken by the reader. Hence the expositors invented a system of *vowel-points*—points, or small signs, written above or below the consonantal letters in the text. Other similar signs, indicating punctuation and other matters necessary for correct reading, were also added. If the Jewish exegesis had gone no further than this, the system of Interpretation would have found its end in the Old Testament, and had no successor in the New, since the original of that is written in Greek, which requires no such supplementary signs to its alphabet. But the Jewish expositors were driven further by their desire to obtain a perfectly correct text. Hence they inaugurated the science of textual criticism, which in the West, in the domain of Greek and Latin, cannot be said to have commenced till the age of the Italian Humanists in the fifteenth century. The Jewish "Humanists" compared different copies of the Scriptures and discovered slight discrepancies of text. They adopted what seemed to have the best authority, and appended a note signifying "Other copies have ——." In other places they found letters which either were clearly ungrammatical or conflicted with some rule that they had laid down. Here they appended a note saying "Written ——, but to be read ——." It should be noted that in this early age, even these scrupulous critics, whose sole desire was to present the text perfect, did not hesitate to correct the written text whenever it seemed necessary; they only had the same conscientiousness about it as is practised by modern critics, who never suggest an alteration deemed necessary to the sense without noting what the manuscripts themselves contain. But the Rabbis went further than this. Not content with the settlement of the text in individual cases, they assumed also the office of

expositors of the sense as well. After the invention of the Canon it appeared impossible that different writers of standard books should contradict one another, and still more so that the same assumed writer (Moses, for instance, as author of the whole Pentateuch) should in different passages contradict himself. Thus they were led to explain away such discrepancies; and reports of real or imaginary discussions in the schools were written down, in which the students point out the difficulties, and the presiding Rabbi solves them by a decision. These decisions were at first given independently; but in time the necessity of formal rules of exposition became obvious, and then the ingenuity of the teachers was exercised in formulating distinct axioms to guide the expositor. Thus the seven rules of Hillel were formed, which seem simple and logical enough, and doubtless were so originally, but were rendered mischievous by their misplaced application. The first, the rule of "light and heavy," denotes the *a fortiori* argument, and is used by Christ, in Matt. x. 29, of the sparrows which are protected by God; and how much more will ye, *men*, be so protected? Yet this rule is perverted to serve the following argument: "The gold plate on the altar resists fire; how much more an Israelite even when trangressing;" and so no Israelite can suffer the fire of Gehenna. The second rule, of "equivalence," infers a relation between two things or persons from the use of identical expressions with relation to them; and is actually applied to prove that Job's wife was Jacob's daughter Dinah, because each of these is described as a foolish woman. In this slight sketch it is unnecessary to give other instances of Rabbinic absurdities of interpretation.

The rules of the Alexandrian school, of which Philo was the most distinguished member, might be expected to be more philosophical and less liable to abuse. Yet Philo appears to delight in minimising the cases in which the literal sense may be accepted. It must be rejected not only

when the passage is clearly allegorical, but also when it seems to state something unworthy of God, or to contradict itself; and allegory must be assumed when there are double expressions, superfluous words, repetition of facts, synonyms, play on words, or words admitting of a slight alteration, &c.—in other words, whenever the interpreter wishes to make a somewhat difficult passage say something different from its natural interpretation. It is an organised system of misinterpretation. It need hardly be said that the members of this school are not slow to avail themselves of the boundless license accorded to them.

Upon the Alexandrian school, which in its later period includes Christian scholars of that seat of learning, follow exclusively Christian schools, the first of which Dr. Farrar designates the Patristic, and regards as dominating the Christian church from the end of the first to the beginning of the twelfth century. Of its exegesis it is not necessary here to say much in detail. It retains from the Alexandrian expositors the tendency to turn everything into allegory. Eucherius, Bishop of Treves, wrote a Dictionary of metaphors, and shows how everything may be interpreted allegorically, because one of the Psalms says, "I will open my mouth in parables." This is taken as if it meant that all Scripture consisted of metaphorical utterances; whence we obtain speculations about the mystic body of the Lord, the devil and his body, Kabbalistic juggling with numbers, and many another unnatural treatment of passages which in themselves seem simple enough—until we are bewildered, and ask where is truth to be found, and shall we ever recognise it if we do find it. The rules of this school are perfectly arbitrary, and cannot compel the assent of any one. It would seem as if they recommended themselves by the facility with which discordant passages might be harmonised by their aid. From this Patristic system Dr. Farrar separates what he calls the Scholastic, which would

occupy the space between the beginning of the twelfth century and the Reformation ; but the distinction is perhaps more plausible than real. The new system is not based on any feeling of the absurdity of previous systems, except that the schoolmen introduce some limitation of the previous license, especially in laying down the rule that a *fourfold sense* may be assumed (an idea borrowed from R. Aqiba and Talmudism through the Alexandrians and the Fathers. Origen had allowed Scripture to have a threefold sense—literal, moral, and mystic—as man has body, soul, and spirit ; but others had gone so far as to allow a seven or eight-fold meaning. This extravagance is happily satirised in the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum,* where a student says that he has heard Ovid expounded " naturaliter, literaliter, historialiter, et spiritualiter." But the fourfold sense will allow almost anything absurd or dangerous to be imposed on Scripture as an allegoric or anagogic meaning, and when this is done by a Church owning obedience to Popes and Councils, the problem how to bring men back to read in Scripture only what they find there is extremely difficult.

It was, however, solved at length, through rebellion against the gradually piled up heap of absurdities ; first by clear-headed scholars like Laurentius Valla, who as early as the middle of the fifteenth century laid down the principle that Scripture must be interpreted by the laws of grammar and language, and Erasmus, who repudiated the infallibility of Popes and Churches in exegesis, rejected "Scripture proofs" (showing how Petrus Lombardus and Thomas Aquinas made mistakes, and Hugo of St. Cher grotesque misinterpretations), and became the founder of modern textual criticism ; and later by Luther, who was gradually impelled further and further from the old principles of scholasticism to a complete rebellion. Starting from the new rules of exegesis given in his earlier works, such as his prefaces to his commentary on Galatians and to

his translations of other Biblical books, he enounced the revolutionary principles of the Reformation, which maintain the supreme authority of Scripture over Church, Councils, and Popes; the sufficiency of Scripture; the denial of the fourfold sense, as the origin of all heresies; allegory not to be interpretation; the perspicuity of Scripture; the right of private judgment; and defined his own rules of interpretation, some of which appear decidedly rash. Calvin followed him with a mind disposed to a severer logic and acuter exegesis, but working in the same direction in despising frivolities, especially allegory and a hollow orthodoxy, and in refusing to support even the divinity of Christ by untenable arguments. More than this, he would not admit Messianic prophecies which were in themselves applicable to the time of the writer, and could be made Messianic only by being wrested from their context. I cannot take the space necessary to show the opinions of other of the leading Reformers, such as Zwingli, on these questions; and content myself with remarking that no one is more outspoken against the fourfold sense that the English Reformers Tyndale and Whitaker, and even Colet.

Of the course of Biblical interpretation after the Reformation, there is for a very long time little to say that is not disheartening. Germany had taken the lead, and had in the persons of several of her princes encouraged the new learning, and with it the new interpretation of Scripture. But these princes were only half autonomous, and over them rested the dead weight of the Empire, which was too much divided into hostile camps on this very Church question, and, while thus divided, was too easily controlled by Rome and Spain, to afford permanence to the principles of the Reformation in Saxony. Hence the first age of hopefulness and enthusiasm for a freedom from Romish dictation previously unknown, was followed rapidly by an attempt to rescue the new doctrines by embodying them in formularies, such as

the Confession of Augsburg, which might perhaps obtain Imperial sanction, thereby however sacrificing the freedom of thought which was the most valuable possession of the early Reformers. Later still, these same religious differences produced internecine conflicts, and especially the Thirty Years' War, which so impoverished and demoralised the country, as to produce the conviction of later centuries that no war is so hateful and unjustifiable as a religious war. After it, the different states stood over against one another as Romish and Protestant (for surely neither could justly be called Catholic), defiant and antagonistic; and the Protestants had abandoned their freedom and committed themselves to dogmatic formulæ which prevented further deveopment, and which themselves produced a mass of apologetic literature not less objectionable than the books of the schoolmen which the earlier and more independent generation of Reformers had exposed and discarded. Besides this evil, another and a new one was now in full operation. The first Reformers were independent thinkers, who naturally took somewhat divergent lines. But Luther admired much in Zwingli, and Calvin was on many points not out of harmony with either. It had not been impossible that the Reformers might have acted together. Now, they were hopelessly divided, and no common action, even in regard to Rome, the common foe, was possible. The Anglican Reformation had followed its separate course, although Tyndale had learned his reforming ideas in Germany; and similarly the Scotch Kirk was perfectly independent, notwithstanding John Knox's Calvinism. Each German province (and sometimes even city) had its approved Confession of faith, and comprehension seemed to be an idea utterly foreign to the age. Apolegetic works naturally sprang up with increasing voluminosity, but became only more idle for any genuine purpose. We may pass over this epoch with the remark that it must not be supposed to be as barren

of pious and devout men as of powerful and advancing expositors.

The earliest writers who seem to initiate the more promising modern age of interpretation are, on the Continent, Leibnitz, Wolff, and Lessing, by virtue of the ideas scattered through their works on other subjects; and then Semler, Herder and Schleiermacher, and the rationalists Michaelis, Ernesti and Paulus; followed by Strauss, F. C. Baur and his colleagues of the Tübingen school; Neander; Gesenius, De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld; Renan; and the Dutch school, including Kuenen, Oort and Tiele; and in this country Colet and Lowth, followed by Lightfoot, and others of the Revisers of 1884, S. Sharpe, Robertson Smith, Cheyne, and many other familiar names. If we speak of all these as belonging to the Modern school, this can only be understood as a convenient term of comprehension, by which they can all be described as adopting principles at variance with those of all the preceding schools. To write the history of these Moderns we should have to divide them into very many distinct schools, besides which we should find many independent thinkers who have worked out their problems alone, without much reliance on earlier systems, and perhaps without founding any school of direct successors. To characterise them adequately would require more space than all the preceding centuries with their general interdependence and few shining lights. It cannot, therefore, be attempted here; and the failure of Dr. Farrar to give more than a bare outline, showing only too little sympathy with the greater and more original of them, warns me not to attempt it at the close of an article. Only this I may say with confidence: that the best, at least, of the Modern expositors are at one on the essential points of healthy criticism; in rejecting *a priori* rules about the various senses that may be assigned *ad libitum* to words and phrases, about the (supposed necessary)

conformity between events and sentiments found in different books, about interpretation of prophecy, about the obligation of the canon; and that they are in general agreed to regard the text alone of each book, and endeavour to understand its meaning, looking to other Biblical books to gain further information about the events of history but not treating them as all telling the same story or breathing the same sentiments; and that they are willing to face the fact of grave divergences, involving often new views of age and authority. All this may be summed up in the resolve to use all available means to be simply truthful, and to be willing to break with all the authority of tradition when unsupported by positive facts or probability. These principles, looked at from the point of view of the traditionalist, appear chiefly negative. But we must remember that viewed from the other side they are positive; and that negation is not to be lightly condemned as untruth: the negation of error naturally leads to, if it is not identical with, truth. The Decalogue itself chiefly consists of negative propositions. If we estimate the light we have received from the Modern schools of exposition, we shall find that it far exceeds that which was previously allowed to illumine the pages of our Bible. Hence I conclude with an earnest exhortation, addressed chiefly to the young of this generation, to seek out this light in the works of the conspicuous writers of the Modern school, and not to be content to suppose that the Bible contains nothing but what the expositors of a bygone age and school tell them is to be found there. These antiquated ideas are revived again and again in some slight disguise, while the modern expositions are not so easily found; but in these latter lies the essential truth for the present, and the hope of still further advance in the future. And that advance will not end in the negation of truth, but will culminate in a deeper and holier form of religion itself.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

THE PLACE OF JESUS IN HISTORY.

THERE is a great deal in the Books of the New Testament which makes no direct or powerful appeal to the religious sympathies of the modern theist unless he is also a believer in some form of Christology; and the consequence is that many religious men who have consciously or unconsciously rejected all Christology—in whose religion, that is to say, it has no longer any living place—find their devotional feelings perpetually checked, as it were, and not unfrequently almost wounded, by its intrusion, as they read the New Testament. The most fervid utterances of St. Paul, for instance, are always liable to be "spoiled" for them, and again and again he fails to raise them to the height of his spiritual exaltation, or, which is worse, he suddenly looses his hold and *drops* them (I use the crass metaphor advisedly, for it exactly represents the fact), because he unexpectedly speaks of *Christ* when their whole thoughts had been fixed on *God*.

And to such readers it is sometimes a relief to turn to the Prophets and Psalmists, where though there is much indeed with which they cannot sympathise, they nevertheless seem to be restored to the purer devotional atmosphere of an unquestioned and unqualified *monotheism*.

In this frame of mind experience shows that it is easy to overlook, or at any rate not to feel, the fundamental difference between the Old and New Testament religions which is expressed in the statement that the one is *national* and the other *universal*.

The appeals of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah of Jerusalem, the Deuteronomist, Jeremiah, and even the Second Isaiah, are appeals to *Israel*, not to *man*, and again and again these appeals are rested upon grounds which have no sense at all

except as supports of the distinctly and exclusively national religion of Israel.

Amos, for example, rebuked the sins of Israel and called upon the Israelites to remember the solemn obligations laid upon them, on the ground that the Almighty God had chosen them alone of all the nations of the earth to be his people. This would have been a strange ground of appeal *to the other nations!* And in the same way how could Hosea have called upon the Edomites, for instance, to love Yahveh, on the ground that he (Yahveh), on his side, had loved the helpless and infant *Israel*, and, as the later prophet Malachi added, had enhanced the obligation by hating Esau? The heart-stirring appeals of the Deuteronomist are throughout appeals for grateful love not to God but to "*thy* God, O Israel," and the claim is urged throughout on the ground that the Almighty had, indeed, showed himself to be the God of Israel as distinguished from, often as opposed to, the other peoples.

The two great commandments of love to God and love to man are found in the Old Testament, but the one is a command to Israel to love the God of Israel in return for pre-eminent and exclusive favours conferred upon Israel, and the second is, in the first instance at least, an exhortation to the Israelites to stand by one another.

So fundamental, so all-pervading, so aggressive is this national exclusiveness that we may well be perplexed to give ourselves a satisfactory account of the ease with which we drop it out of discourses the very tissues of which it impregnates, and the facility with which we accept and respond to religious appeals the whole motive of which presupposes the intense consciousness of a (to us alien) nationality. Why should the expression, "the love of God *which is in Christ Jesus our Lord*" bring with it a certain sense of constraint to the worshipper who is hardly conscious of any interruption to the flow of his devotions when the

benediction falls upon his ear, "The Lord shall bless thee *out of Zion*: and thou shalt see *the good of Jerusalem* all the days of thy life. Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and *peace upon Israel*"?

The answer, however, is not really hard to find. It is the New Testament itself that has enabled us to read the most beautiful portions of the Old Testament with unqualified sympathy. The Universalism* of the New Testament has taught us to drop the Particularism of the Old Testament so completely, and to substitute spiritual and general for material and special conceptions so naturally and spontaneously, that we are hardly even conscious of the process. The election of Israel, the cleaving of the waters of the Red Sea, the redemption from the land of the Captivity, translate themselves spontaneously into instances or symbols of the providential guidance and the fatherly love with which God has watched over—not Israel but mankind; and "Zion," "Egypt," "Jerusalem," "the heritage of Yahveh," are no longer mere geographical, historical, or national terms, but have become the symbols of universal and permanent human ideals and experiences. That they were intrinsically capable of such a transformation they owe to their own elements of permanent truth and beauty, but that they were actually so transformed they owe, I believe—to Jesus.

The intrinsic and permanent religious value of the highest utterances of the Old Testament is found in this: that although the relationship assumed is an exclusive and national one between Israel and Yahveh, and although it is entered through the gate of nationality and made to rest upon national considerations, yet within the limited area which it embraces it is that very relation of trust, of love, of grateful homage, which we feel to be the true relation—not of Israel to Yahveh, but—of man to God.

* It is scarcely necessary to note that it is in the sense of universal as opposed to *national* religion that the word *Universalism* is used here, and throughout this paper.

Thus the monotheism of the Old Testament is one-sided, but is intrinsically capable of completion. The old tribal relation of Israel and Yahveh—parallel to that of Ammon and Chemosh, or Moab and Milcom—has passed away, for the conception of Yahveh has expanded into the conception of God; but the corresponding expansion of the other term of the relation has not taken place, and in the Old Testament it is not *man* but *Israel* that stands in the true attitude of love and trust to *God*.

As soon as this national limitation is dropped, as soon as a close and tender relationship to God is regarded as the birthright not of Israel alone, but of man, then the conception of that relationship itself will for the first time realise its full power and depth, and what I have, in a previous paper,* spoken of as "the Gospel" will be preached on earth and will begin to win its way to recognition as the true principle of life. The Gospel, or glad tidings, that man is the child of God, by nature and by birthright, must bring with it the missionary spirit so conspicuously absent from almost all national religions and mere philosophies. It must bring with it the tenderness and reverence towards even fallen or hostile humanity which has yet to mould our collective action as it is moulding more and more our personal feelings towards the outcast and degraded members or branches of the great human family. It must bring with it the unconquerable faith in the power of overcoming evil with good and the ever-present trust in the divine support, which remain inaccessible to him who shuts out a part of mankind from the love of God or states the conditions upon which they may *become* what in the eye of a higher faith they already *are*—the sons of God. It must bring with it the perfect love and the perfect trust that rest without fear upon the everlasting arms and are awed but not terrified by the presence of the everlasting holiness.

* *Christian Reformer*, Aug., 1885.

And when the Law and the Prophets have been in this deepest and truest sense "fulfilled" and completed, we are able to read them in the light of their fulfilment, we cease to be conscious of their limitations, we substitute universal for national conceptions, and indeed pour into the very names and symbols of intensest nationality the new spirit of universalism.

Now it seems to me obvious that this "Gospel" pervades the New Testament *and is a new and distinctive feature in it*,* although its reflection back upon the Old Testament sometimes blinds us to its originality in the New.

If any one denies or cannot see the presence of "the Gospel" in the New Testament, or if any one challenges its originality, then my present argument can have no weight with him; but those who admit that the "glad tidings" are first found in a body of writings that associates itself in almost every line with the mission of Jesus, will probably feel that apart from the results of any detailed critical investigations we are justified in assuming it as a high historical probability that Jesus himself was the primal source of this new and all-commanding factor in the religious movement that sprang out of his work. If a critical investigation confirms this probability, then we have answered our question as to the place of Jesus in history, and answered it in a way which would surely justify, but as surely stands in no need of, those fervid outpourings of eulogy and gratitude from which I would studiously abstain in this essay, lest I should seem to rely upon appeals to traditional feeling rather than to an unimpassioned statement of the historical facts.

Proceeding, then, to inquire on what lines such a critical investigation should move, we are at once met by the fact that while "the Gospel" does indeed pervade the New

* See Dr. Oort's articles on "The Talmud and the New Testament," in *The Modern Review* for July and October, 1883, especially pp. 731—736. I am deeply indebted to these articles as well as to other writings of Dr. Oort's.

Testament, it is not by any means always set forth in its full purity there; nay, we sometimes find limitations reimposed which seem to militate against its very essence. It is often not "the love of God" but "the love of God *in Christ*" that is taught; and we are not by nature the children of God's love, but by adoption the children of his grace. This brings us back to the point from which we started; and we have to allow that though the national limits of the Old Testament are removed, yet the limits imposed by the supposed economy or scheme of the divine salvation as set forth in some parts of the New Testament are felt by many devout minds as a far more galling restraint, because one which they can less easily drop out of their minds, and one which seems to affect not only the means and conditions of access to God, but the very attitude of our souls in his presence.

The first question we have to ask, therefore, is whether Jesus himself recognised these limitations and conditions in the relationship of man to God; and whether "the Gospel" as preached by him was thus qualified from the first.

The answer to this question cannot be doubtful for a moment in the light of the critical and historical investigations of recent times.

Neither the Epistles of Paul nor the Fourth Gospel can be taken as evidence of what Jesus himself taught, though they are invaluable monuments of what was taught about him; and when we turn to the Synoptic Gospels we receive the overwhelming impression that Jesus was at heart a Hebrew prophet who might well believe that a richer and fuller word of God *came to men* through him than had ever come before, but in whose religious thought or experience the conception that men could only *come to God* through him could by no possibility have found a place. In spite of a few expressions which might be urged to the contrary, it is to me at least wholly inconceivable that the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels

should have claimed for himself, even in germ and potentiality or by remote implication, the place that was afterwards assigned to him by Paul or John, or should have regarded some personal relationship to himself as the permanent and inherent condition for all time, of entrance into the true relationship to God.

And if it is clear that Jesus did not impose a new restriction it is equally clear that he did remove the old one. There may be room for differences of opinion as to the point to which Jesus carried his practical and theoretical rejection of the Law, but unless we are to suppose that the Synoptic Gospels are not only uncertain and legendary in their form and details but simply fictitious in their substance, we cannot allow that there is any doubt as to this main fact:—Jesus did not regard observance of the Law as the necessary condition of communion with God or as the necessary passport to his love, and he did not regard its absolute neglect —even when accompanied by grave moral dereliction—as involving the loss of God's love or the obliteration of the inherent sonship, which even the prodigal could never lose.

But if Jesus did not recognise any legal conditions and did not impose any doctrinal conditions by which access to God must be limited, then he preached in all its purity the Gospel that man is the child of God.

It may indeed be thoughtlessly urged that the prophets of Israel had long ago rejected or at least slighted the ordinances of legal piety, without imposing any corresponding restrictions of their own; and that if this be equivalent to breaking with the narrowness of a national religion and proclaiming the unqualified universalism of the Gospel, then that decisive step had already been taken centuries before the birth of Jesus. But we have only to think for a moment what was involved in each case in the rejection of external ordinances, in order to perceive how widely the position of Jesus differed from that of his predecessors.

In their time Israel was an independent nation with all its national life and institutions standing visibly before men's eyes. To denounce excessive reliance upon external acts of worship was in no sense whatever an attack on the nationality of the religion of Israel. There is no connection between the two ideas; for the nationality alike of Israel and of its religion was abundantly guaranteed and represented by its whole external and collective life. In the time of Jesus, on the contrary, when the Jews were scattered over every land and had ceased to rule even in Palestine, the one thing that held them together, and that made it possible to attach any meaning to the conception of an exclusive relationship between Israel and God, was the observance of the Law as a divine institution given by God to Israel as the means and the token of his grace.

This change of circumstance had been marked by a change of teaching on the part of Israel's religious leaders. As it became more and more obvious that the Law was the sole remaining symbol and instrument of Israel's exclusive nationality, her teachers insisted with ever growing emphasis upon its superlative importance, and the prophetic protests died away into silence. After the Captivity the neglect of the Law could not be taught except by those who did not care for religion at all, or by one who had risen to the idea of a religious life that was not confined to Israel; and therefore it never was preached by earnest Israelites, until he came who understood that to fulfil the Law and the Prophets it was needful to break away from their national restrictions, teaching not that Israel was the chosen one of God but that man is the child of God.

Jesus of Nazareth, then, takes his place in history as the first and purest preacher of that Gospel in the practical realisation of which is the healing of the nations and the hope of the Kingdom of God.

P. H. WICKSTEED.

HUMAN AUTOMATISM AND FREE WILL.

LECTURE VI.—PART I.

WE have now arrived at the culminating point of our whole inquiry,—that which relates to the *Moral Automatism* of man; the questions to be considered being (1) whether we possess any independent power of self-direction, and (2) what, if we have such a power, is the mode in which it is exerted, and what the limit of its exercise.

The Automatist—whether he expresses himself as a physiologist in terms of *brain*, or as a psychologist in terms of *mind*—takes his stand upon the assumption that man cannot possibly be an exception to the general uniformity of nature, and that, as every physical change is the necessary consequent of some "cause," or assemblage of *physical antecedents*, so every mental change is no less determinately related to that assemblage of *mental* conditions which constitutes the "formed character" of the individual,—such "character" being the concrete resultant of all the changes superinduced by the incessant influence of the "environment" upon the individual's "hereditary constitution." According to this view, the action of every individual in any given contingency is entirely determined by the relative strength of the "motive powers" which impel him in one direction or the other; and he has no more *choice* of his own in the determination of his conduct than has a piece of iron, which, when suspended between two magnets, is necessarily drawn towards the one that has the stronger attraction for it. The automatist's creed is—"I cannot be other than I am,—I cannot act otherwise than I do." Interference by any kind of "self-determining" power, he affirms to be abso-

lutely impossible; an uncaused volition being (he asserts) as inconceivable as an uncaused exercise of physical force. Man is nothing but "a part of the great series of causes and effects, which, in unbroken continuity, composes that which is, and has been, and shall be—the sum of existence" (Huxley). And hence it necessarily follows, that, as a man has no other power of doing what he knows to be right, or of abstaining from what he knows to be wrong, than that which he derives from his "formed character," and as his character has been formed *for* him by agencies altogether beyond his control, he is no more "responsible" for his actions, than is a watch that goes wrong through its originally faulty construction, or from want of compensation for changes of temperature.*

This, as you are well aware, is no new creed. The "Necessity" of the older and the "Determinism" of modern philosophers, the "Predestination" of a large section of the Christian Church, and the "Fatalism" of Mahomedanism, all embody, in one form or another, the same fundamental idea. But it has of late been confidently put forth as the conclusion to which all scientific investigation points so unmistakably as to give it the same claim on our unhesitating acceptance as is possessed (for example) by the Newtonian system of astronomy. It is alleged that, as no effect can take place without a cause, an "uncaused volition" is inconceivable. Man, it is affirmed, cannot possibly be an exception to the general uniformity of nature, all whose changes can be shown to conform to unchanging laws. And the unquestion-

* It is not a little remarkable that J. S. Mill, when he first awoke to the full meaning of the Automatist creed in which he had been brought up, and felt that it reduced him to a condition of "helpless slavery to antecedent circumstances" (Autobiography, p. 169), should have found a refuge from it in the position that though a man must act in accordance with his formed character, yet "we have a real power in the formation of our characters,"—a concession of fundamental importance. So Prof. Clifford, in his Lecture on "Right and Wrong" (*Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1875), admits "within certain limits I am responsible for what I am now, because within certain limits I have made myself."

able fact that similar uniformities in human action constitute the whole basis of our social fabric is fairly urged as a valid ground for the belief, that if science could unravel the complexities of causation in the latter case as successfully as it has done in the former, we should find the results predictable with the same certainty. Along another line of inquiry too, every advance would seem to carry us further in the same direction. For, as I have shown you in my previous lectures, the psychologist who studies the relation of mental to physical activities, and is constantly finding new evidence of the intimacy of their connection, feels himself altogether unable to resist the conclusion that automatism has a very large share in the mental as in the bodily life of every human being; and he is thus naturally led to question whether there is *any* part of man's nature which is exempt from the law of physical causation.

The answer to this lies within a very small compass. The common consciousness of mankind testifies to the existence of a distinct personality or *ego*, endowed with a *self-determining* power. This consciousness expresses itself in a variety of ways. It is embodied in the word "choice," which is directly antagonistic to "necessity," and has no meaning whatever but that derived from our own mental experience. It is implied in all the terms which designate moral approval or disapproval; for, as Prof. Sidgwick has well said, the conception of freedom (that is, of our power to have acted otherwise than we have done) is the pivot upon which our moral sentiments naturally play. So, the ideas currently attached to the words "duty" and "responsibility" testify to the acceptance by mankind at large of the conviction that every normally constituted individual has it in his power to do what he knows he *ought* to do. And in the languages and literature of ancient and of modern times, whether philosophic or religious,—whether heathen, Jewish, or Christian,—we find such words as *σωφροσύνη*, *temperantia*, self-control,

such proverbs as "he that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city," or that "the greatest of all victories is the victory over oneself."

But, it is urged, the belief entertained by all men—except philosophers—in their own freedom of choice (within certain limits) between different modes of action, is an illusion of ignorant "common sense"; which, like the vulgar belief that the sun moves round the earth, is utterly dispelled by the light of science. Our moral ideas and feelings, it is affirmed, have formed themselves on the basis of this erroneous conception: and when we shall have set ourselves free from this, and shall have thoroughly accepted the automatist creed, they will readjust themselves to it; and we shall all be the gainers for having been brought to treat each other as the beings we really are—automata, who cannot help doing what our "heredity" and our "environments" necessitate.

Now to this I reply, that the whole fabric of physical science rests on no other basis than *the facts of human consciousness;* so that if its testimony to these facts is not to be trusted, knowledge of any kind is impossible, and universal scepticism inevitable. Nothing is more common than to hear "the facts of nature, ascertained by observation and experiment" spoken of by men of science—whether physicists, chemists, or biologists—as if they were unquestionable realities: yet those who have studied the processes by which such "facts" are said to have been "ascertained," are well aware of the fallacy that underlies the assertion. For the psychologists who have most carefully scrutinised these processes have been gradually coming to an agreement in the fundamental principle embodied in Sir William Hamilton's doctrine of the Relativity of Human Knowledge; viz., "the entire inaccessibility to our faculties of any other knowledge of things, than that of the impressions they produce upon our mental consciousness."* Whatever differences of opinion

* J. S. Mill's Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, 4th Ed., p. 13.

there may be among metaphysicians as to the existence of *noumena* or "things in themselves," all are now agreed that we can know nothing about them except through their *phenomena*, or, in ordinary language, through those changes which impress our senses. This truth, first clearly apprehended by Descartes, has been accepted in the past by philosophers of the most opposite schools—Idealists, like Berkeley, Kant, and Hamilton, and Experientialists like Hume, Hartley, and James Mill; and cannot any longer be regarded as open to discussion. For, as Professor Huxley says,* "Whoso has mastered the elements of Philosophy, knows that the attribute of *unquestionable certainty* appertains only to the existence of a state of consciousness so long as it exists; all other beliefs are mere *probabilities* of a higher or lower order." Or, in the words of J. S. Mill, "Feeling and thought are much more real than anything else: they are the only things which (in the philosophical sense) we directly *know* to be real."†

What are ordinarily called the "facts of nature," then, are really our own conceptions, or embodied representations, of the supposed causes of our subjective experiences; and these conceptions *may* be very wide of the reality. Our highest security for their correctness lies in the comparison of our own conceptions with each other, and with those of other men; and it is on the wide basis of such general experience, that our primary conceptions of matter and its properties, of force, and of motion, have been erected; mainly by the help of that process of automatic "integration" which I have described in a former lecture. Now when the "common sense" of mankind testifies to what can be scientifically proved to be erroneous, the error will be found to depend upon a *misinterpretation* of facts of consciousness which are perfectly trustworthy in themselves; and

* "Science and Culture," p. 264.

† "Posthumous Essays," p. 202.

the correction it receives is supplied by a stricter method of reasoning upon them, built up on a larger basis of mental experiences. Thus the certain assurance universally felt in the childhood of the world, and still prevalent among all on whom the light of science has not yet shone, that the sun moves round the earth, rests on experiences of the sun's apparent motion and our own apparent fixity, upon which all are agreed; but the experiences of a railway journey are quite sufficient to show that those appearances are capable of a different interpretation, all that they really prove being *relative* motion; while the fact that the apparent revolution of the sun is really due to the axial rotation of the earth, is established by that strict reasoning upon a far wider basis of experiences, which constitutes the essential difference between the scientific method and the crude inferences of untrained "common sense."

So, again, all the elders among us used to regard it as "a well-ascertained scientific fact" that the mean distance of the earth from the sun is ninety-five millions of miles, or thereabouts; and this amount was assumed by astronomers as the established unit, in the computation of the distances of the other planets from the sun, and of their satellites from themselves. The determination of that unit rested on the observations of the transit of Venus in 1769; and the record of these, with the computations founded upon them, was considered so satisfactory, that the possible error was supposed to lie within a quarter of a million of miles. Some twenty-five years ago, however, it began to be suspected, from a close concurrence in the results of newer methods of measurement, that the distance had been over-estimated by about two and a-half millions of miles; and a re-examination of the old transit-observations showed that an unsuspected fallacy lay in the peculiar visual effect now known as the "black drop," namely, the apparent elongation of the round black spot formed by the disk of Venus on the sun's face, when leaving

the inner margin on which it entered, or approaching that from which it will make its exit. The existence of this fallacy was fully verified in the numerous observations which you will remember to have been made of the two recent transits; and astronomers are now coming to regard other methods of determining this important unit as more trustworthy. Here, then, you have what Bacon would have called a "pregnant instance" of the uncertainty which may be introduced into the most certain of sciences, by the misinterpretation of a fact of consciousness in itself perfectly trustworthy. What the observers *recorded* was the *contact* of the black spot with the margin of the sun's disk; when what they really *saw* was an *extension of the spot* towards the margin of the sun, as if it clung to the edge it was leaving, or reached out towards the one it was approaching.*

Now I contend that the general conviction that the *Ego* possesses (within certain limits) a "self-determining" power, is not—like the *dicta* we have been just examining—a fallacious inference from experiences in themselves trustworthy, but is entitled to rank as in itself one of our most certain experiences; resting upon testimony of the same cogency as that which assures us of the truth of the fundamental axioms of mathematics. For whether, with thinkers of one school, we regard our belief in those axioms as intuitive, or with those of a second, accept them as concrete expressions of universal experience, or, with those of a third, look upon them as results of the accumulated experiences of the race embodied in the mental constitution of the individual, we shall find a basis of the like nature for those moral convic-

* Our Astronomer Royal, who was charged with the preparation of the British series of transit observations, trained his staff of observers by causing them to look through a telescope at an illuminated disk at some distance, over which a black spot of the proper proportionate size was made to move by clockwork, in the course and at the rate that the planetary spot would move during the transit; and he found that a difference amounting in some instances to more than twenty seconds at first existed between the times of the "contacts" noted by different individuals.

tions of *duty* and *responsibility*, which (as I have already shown) are altogether meaningless if we have no power to act upon them.

Such, then, is my reply to the argument based upon the general uniformity of nature. That this uniformity extends to man, is the very thing to be proved; and analogy here affords no proof. For I do not see how it can be disputed that, notwithstanding man's close *physical* relationship to the higher quadrumana, his *psychical* endowments make his "place in nature" altogether exceptional. As I have endeavoured to show you in previous lectures, I look upon the comparative elevation of both his intellectual and his moral endowments as dependent on his possession of the power of volitionally directing the automatic activity of his mind; a power of which we find no evidence in the actions of any of the lower animals, and which is certainly wanting in young children. And I shall presently endeavour to show you that the same determinate fixation of the attention on the motives which the Ego knows *ought* to prevail, affords the mental mechanism by which they are *made* to prevail. If, then, our own daily experience assures us of this *exceptional* element in man's constitution, we have a better right to deny, than our opponents have to affirm, that his whole course of mental action is subject to a uniformity as strict as that of the physical universe in the midst of which he is placed.

That there are uniformities in the working of the human mind which are capable of being formulated as "Laws of Thought," and uniformities of human conduct which furnish materials for the work of the sociologist, you must have seen that I most fully admit; all that I have distinguished as the *automatic* activity of our minds, by which a very large part of our conduct is determined, being (in my view) as strictly "conditioned" as the automatic action of our bodies. But it cannot be affirmed that either the

psychologist or the sociologist can foretell any result with the assurance felt by the astronomer or the chemist. We may predict from our knowledge of a mathematician's method, the course of reasoning by which he will establish a particular proposition; but no one can predict what new lines of investigation may open out before the gaze of his genius into the unfathomable depths of the unknown. So, we may recognise in the play of the poet's fancy or imagination a general conformity to the "laws of association"; but no reasoning upon those laws will enable any one to predict the actual imagery with which he will adorn his thought, or the metaphors by which he will impart to it force as well as beauty,—the *unexpectedness* of the combination (as in the "conceits" of wit) often contributing greatly to its impressiveness. The statistics of crime, again, while affording a probability that (circumstances remaining unchanged) the number of offences of each kind committed in the present year will closely accord with that committed in the last, no more enables us to predict *who* will be the offenders, than the statistics of mortality enable us to predict *who* will die. We may think it *probable*, from our knowledge of the habits and character of a particular individual, that he may fall into crime; just as we may think it probable, from our knowledge of the infirm health of an aged person, that he will not survive the year. But as we not infrequently see most unexpected recoveries, so do we occasionally meet with most surprising reformations. And though it may be said that in the latter case, as in the former, the result might have been confidently predicted if we had known all the antecedent conditions, yet this is an assertion altogether without proof. The uniformities of criminal conduct show themselves most conspicuously in that class of our population whose members resemble children and savages in being moved to action by the automatism of their nature; every individual doing what for the moment attracts him, without thought of remote con-

sequences, or effort at self-restraint. It is only in the higher types of humanity, that the new factor of "self-direction" takes any considerable share in the determination of the conduct; and in proportion to its predominance do we find ourselves unable to predict the action of the individual in any given contingency. For even when we feel most sure, from our intimate knowledge of the character of another, that he will do what he considers to be his "duty," we may yet find ourselves completely in error as to what he judges to *be* his duty. "The unexpected," we continually hear it said, "is what always happens"; and if we do not accept this apothegm as universally true, we recognise its very frequent applicability.

To the physiological argument that, as all mental changes depend upon physical antecedents, they must therefore be as strictly conditioned as are those antecedents themselves, I reply that we have precisely the same evidence of the production of physical sequences by mental antecedents, as we have of the production of mental sequences by physical antecedents. If—as I pointed out to you in my first lecture—it be admitted as a fact of universal experience, capable of being verified whenever we choose to do so, that the prick of the fingers with a pin is the cause of a painful sensation through the conversion of a *neurosis* into a *pyschosis*, the like universal experience, capable of being verified at any moment, teaches us that the mental state which we call "will" is the cause of the muscular motion it determines by the conversion of a *psychosis* into a *neurosis*. In other words, we have exactly the same ground for affirming that mind acts on matter, as we have for affirming that matter acts on mind. Our knowledge of mind is direct and immediate; our knowledge of matter is indirect, its properties being inferred from the impressions it makes on our sensorial consciousness. To affirm, as Prof. Clifford did, that nothing can possibly influence matter, except the position or motion

of surrounding matter, is therefore to assume the possession of knowledge altogether transcending the limits of our faculties. It might be quite as justifiably affirmed that nothing can possibly influence mind, except the thoughts and feelings of other minds; and yet our knowledge of these is entirely gained through corporeal instrumentality.

If, then, we have evidence, in the performance of any voluntary motion, that a train of physical sequences can be started by a mental act, we have as good a right to affirm, as our opponents have to deny, that what essentially constitutes the Ego lies *outside* the sphere of physical causation, making use of his automatism for its own purposes. No physiologist can doubt that the will is greatly influenced in its determinations by a class of motives whose relation to physical antecedents is that of mental effect to physical cause. But, on the other hand, it seems to me experientially certain that a moral force is exercised by motives of a higher class, which is out of all proportion to any physical antecedents from which they can be conceived to have sprung; and that the Ego has it in his power, by determinately fixing his attention upon either class, to intensify *its* influence, whilst proportionally weakening the force of the other, and thus to decide the result. Every act thus "determined" is attended with a "sense of effort" which is altogether wanting when we simply follow the lead of the preponderating motive, or, in other words, are guided by our automatism. And the degree in which we feel it, is the measure of the self-determination we have exerted.

Taking my stand, then, upon the facts of consciousness as of higher authority than any of those (supposed) scientific proofs which, plausible as they seem, have no other basis than unproved *assumptions*, I find nothing wanting in my own mental experiences, or in what I know of the mental experiences of others, to establish the existence of the "self-determining" power of the Ego; while I cannot see what

evidence beyond that we already possess can be reasonably asked for. All the real *evidence* adduced on the other side does no more than prove what no well-informed upholder of the Freewill doctrine would now call in question,—namely, that a large part of our mental activity being purely automatic, our "freedom" is limited by the relative strength of our automatic and of our volitional powers. And with a more detailed consideration of this point, I shall bring the present discussion to a close.

W. B. CARPENTER.

(*To be continued.*)

*THE KERNEL AND THE HUSK.**

WHATEVER is published in the English tongue is practically accessible now to the whole English nation, boys and girls as well as men and women, ignorant as well as learned, foolish as well as wise. It is some compensation that with the evil arising from this runs parallel a corresponding good, and that some of those who, through a modest mistrust of themselves, would confine their utterances, if they could, to the hearing of such as they feel assured will benefit by them, are compelled, having spoken, to let their words go forth to the world at large. "The time is not perhaps far distant," says the author of *The Kernel and the Husk*, "when few will believe in miracles who do not also believe in an infallible Church; and then, such books as the present will appeal to a larger circle. But, as things are, the author would beg all those who worship a miraculous Christ without doubt or difficulty to pause here and read no further. The book is not intended for them; it is intended for those alone to whom it is dedicated, 'the doubters of this generation'" (p. v.). So he writes in the preface; unwilling to disturb the peaceful tranquillity of those who rest in a home which still shelters them, even though he knows on how sandy a foundation it is built. But let them read now, for he cannot be sure that he will be able to catch them, one by one, just as they find out that their faith is failing them.

"I am more pained than surprised," he writes in the very first of this series of letters, addressed to an undergraduate who has spent "a single term" at one of our old English Universities, chief training schools of the clergy of that section of the great Christian Church which calls itself *the* English

* *The Kernel and the Husk.* Letters on Spiritual Christianity, by the AUTHOR OF "PHILOCHRISTUS" AND "ONESIMUS." London: Macmillan and Co. 1886.

Church, and which undoubtedly does at the same time represent and influence the religious life of England in a way that no other section can claim to do—"I am more pained than surprised to infer from your last letter that your faith has received a severe shock. A single term at the University has sufficed to make you doubt whether you retain a belief in miracles." And with belief in the miracles must go also in close succession, argues the young student, belief in the Bible, belief in Christ, belief in God. And again, before twenty lines of the letter are written, the author gives the following early experience of his own as a religious teacher:—

"Many years ago, a young man who wished to be ordained asked me to read the Old Testament with him. We set to work at once and read some miraculous history—I forget precisely what—in which I thought my young friend must needs see a difficulty. So I began to point out how the difficulty might be at least diminished by critical considerations. I say 'I began': for I stopped as soon as I begun, finding that my friend saw no difficulty at all. He accepted every miracle on every page of the Old and New Testament on the authority of the Bible; just as a Roman Catholic accepts every ecclesiastical doctrine on the authority of the Church. This seemed to me not a state of mind that I ought to interfere with: I might do more harm than good. So I stopped. But I have since regretted it. Circumstances prevented me from meeting my friend for some weeks. During that time he had fallen in with companions of negative views, against which he had no power to maintain his position: and he had passed from believing everything to believing nothing."

Now our author's subject is inexhaustible; he looks at the questions of theology, which present themselves, from many points of view, and meets many and varied attacks upon his position, some of which certainly cannot come from a sceptical young undergraduate. Some of them his own imagination may have supplied—some of them may be, and we should say probably are, from the pens of other correspondents.*

* Compare, for instance, the objections raised on pp. 20, 80, and perhaps 327 (as from the sceptical undergraduate circle) with those on pp. 111 and 115 and 130 (which might well come from a devout Unitarian), and, again, with the paragraphs on pp. 170 and 225, which try to force the

The book loses nothing by this; indeed, it gains much in variety and comprehensiveness. But surely no one can doubt that those things which the writer puts down as facts within his own experience are facts: whether his own boyish disposal of Predestinarianism, with the story in a footnote of a child of seven who remonstrated with his mother for having "borned" him without consulting his wishes in the matter (p. 8); or the writer's absolute indifference to the preaching in the parish church till he was sixteen years of age, when a new rector came, a pupil of Maurice, and the boy's father took out of his hand the Bible he was about to pass the time with as usual, and bid him "for once shut up that book and listen to a sermon," with the account he gives of the effect of that and many subsequent sermons (p. 9); or his declaration that the belief he now holds "has been fifteen years in making, and for ten years more has been reviewed, criticised, and finally retained as being historically true and spiritually healthful" (p. 19); or the curious experience when, thinking that he was dead, he believed himself to be in hell, not because he felt bodily pain, but because he suffered unutterable pangs of remorse for what to any living man would seem at most a trifling weakness, a slight want of physical courage (pp. 293 *sq.*); or, again, the strangely moving account of the circumstances of doubt and uncertainty surrounding the death of a beloved brother, which were the means of breaking down for him the hard and fast barrier between the living and the dead, so that he has been able to preserve in his prayers night and morning, day after day for twenty-seven years, the dear familiar name, and to find that this prayer for the dead, often so thoughtlessly condemned on the ground of a presumptuous

acceptance of the historical accuracy of the Gospels, and express the "fear" of the downfall of the Pauline theology, and can scarcely come from any but an "orthodox" friend. It would be an interesting critical study to attempt to trace generally the various sources of the objections, and arrange them by means of the *internal evidence* which is supplied by the book.

theory in regard to things too high for us, is "potent . . . to detach the mind from petty and visible things, to unlock the spiritual world, to carry the soul up to the very source and centre of spiritual life, and to bring us into faithful communion with the Father of the spirits of all flesh" (pp. 288 *sq.*).

And so, to come back to his early experience as the teacher of a student *preparing for ordination*, whose faith in the miracles he dare not touch—remembering that it is not an imaginary, but an actual case—he found that *some few weeks* with "companions of negative views, against which he had no power to maintain his position," were sufficient to hurl this man *from believing everything to believing nothing*.

More than two centuries ago Willian Penn "took Occasion," as his biographer tells us, "to write a little book, entituled, 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken,' which gave great Offence to some then at the *Helm of the Church*, who presently took the Old Method of reforming what they call *Error*, by advancing at once their strongest *argument*, viz., *An Order for Imprisoning him in the Tower of* London."* Such risks was the sturdy Quaker willing to incur, because he knew that if any man build on a "sandy foundation" it is best for him that it should be shaken and he should see his danger and establish himself upon a rock *before* the floods come. To change the metaphor to our author's own, it is to be hoped that "The Kernel and the Husk" may come into the hands of many in time to enable them to separate the two *before* they realise the worthlessness of the "husk" and throw it away. He need not fear for them.

We have desired to prepare the minds of our readers for this book by kindling a sympathetic interest in it, rather than to criticse it or even review it at present. The very name of the "author of Philochristus" will secure to the book a vast number of readers. We trust it will be read sympa-

* "Collection of the Works of William Penn, &c." 2 vols., fol. 1726.

thetically and thoughtfully, and this will be easy to all who are not crushed by the prejudices of orthodoxy or heterodoxy. "Some books," says Bacon, in an oft-quoted passage, "are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." *The Kernel and the Husk* may be placed in the third category.*

We dissent from many of the theological opinions of this work, and all its Christological conclusions—not by any means from all its conclusions with regard to Jesus of Nazareth, but from those which are, properly speaking, *Christological;* nevertheless, we welcome the book as a valuable contribution to the living religious thought of the present age, and to the consideration of profound questions of theology, which are in danger of being lost sight of amid the noisy warfare between scriptural apologetics on the one hand and physical science on the other.

We have not attempted in these few pages to give an account of the book, or of its conclusions. We frankly own that we regard its conclusions as of secondary, though vast, importance. Conclusions in theology are and must be changeable. They may be said to be of *immeasurable* importance, but the method and spirit of inquiry are of *infinite* importance. To judge of the method and spirit our readers must go to the book itself; and when they have had time to do so, we hope to return to the consideration of some of its conclusions.

THE EDITOR.

* We fear some critics will regard it not even as a book to be "tasted," but as one to be worried, a *quartum quid* that does not appear to have occurred to Bacon. The author warns his young friend to whom the letters are addressed against the attempt to say something "brief and smart," which, he says, ends in re-repeating "what they have heard other people say about other opinions which have some affinity of sound with mine." "This," he continues, "is a very common habit with inferior professional reviewers, who are bound to say something readable and epigrammatic for limited remuneration and consequently in limited time; but your friends have not come to that yet, and are therefore not to be so easily excused." We have made bold to apply only the last part of this sentence to ourselves and our readers.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Book of Genesis. A translation from the Hebrew, in which the constituent elements of the text are separated; to which is added an attempted restoration of the original documents used by the latest reviser. By FRANÇOIS LENORMANT. Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes by the author of "Mankind; their Origin and Destiny." (London: Longmans. 1886.)

M. LENORMANT extends to the whole of Genesis the division among several original authors which he attempted, together with an elaborate and ingenious criticism, on the first eleven chapters in his previous work, "Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible," translated as "The Beginnings of History." But in reviewing the last-named work in the *Modern Review*, I was obliged to point out how his protest of submission to the authority of the (Catholic) Church diminished the value of his work and the independence of his criticism. The same remarks apply in a still greater degree to this, which in every respect is less carefully thought out and might have been produced by any student who worked out the problem of multiplex authorship, attempted by Biblical critics from Astruc to De Wette, Ewald, Colenso, and Kuenen. The book consists, indeed, almost solely of "The Massoretic Text in its Present State," printed in large and small type, to exhibit respectively the Elohistic and the Jehovistic portions; "The Book of Origins; or, Jehovistic Document," printed separately, apparently to show that it forms a connected narrative (here it will be observed that Ewald's name, *Book of Origins*, is adopted, but used in a different sense from Ewald's); and lastly, "The Book of Genealogies (Toledoth), or Elohistic Document." Not much can be said in praise of the translation, at least, as it appears in the English edition. It is prevailingly identical with the Authorised version, and where it differs is rough and ugly, attempting to keep closer to the Hebrew syntax than English idiom allows, rather than to correct actual errors in sense. However, I do not regard this as a very serious indictment against a book to which we do not look for elegance of diction.

A more serious error which the translator has committed is one which he nowhere confesses (he does not give a line of preface); he has suppressed the whole of Lenormant's Introduction, which contains much valuable matter. There alone, for example, we find a statement of the number of original documents (or authors) that the author recognises in the Pentateuch. These are, in the order of their supposed age—(1) The writer sometimes called the Second Elohist; a theocratic view of

primitive history, but not all preserved. (2) The Jehovistic or prophetical writer. (3) The Deuteronomist; the oldest code of law. (4) The Elohist properly so-called; the Book of Law, preceded by genealogies (Toledoth). He is called the last writer of the Pentateuch, and he spiritualises the idea of God much more than the Jehovist, who introduces him speaking humanly with men. These few sentences of the French original show M. Lenormant's system far more clearly than anything in the English edition. I have nothing to say against the translator's Introduction, except that it has not much to do with the book. It is a disquisition on stories of Creation and Paradise in various eastern nations, and epitomises, perhaps usefully (though with much irrelevant matter) some recent discoveries among Assyrians, Chaldeans, &c. But this only relates to the initial chapters of Genesis, and is out of place in a work which is not a commentary on the book, nor an attempt to find the extraneous sources of its history. The geographical foot-notes are often good. But the Greek words are execrably printed, and always want the accent.

On the whole I cannot think that this and the author's previous book will add to the repute of the French school (if there be such) of Biblical criticism. What is said here has been earlier and better said in Germany, Holland, and England. M. Lenormant ranks high as an Assyriologist, but it is a pity he has dived into the troubled waters of Pentateuchal criticism before he has so mastered its problems as to be able to offer something more mature than this book, which really seems like the work of a novice.

R. M.

The Growth of the Church in its Organisation and Institutions, being the Croal Lectures for 1886. By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1886.)

THESE lectures were delivered, so their author tells us, in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in the months of January and February of the present year. They are six in number, and treat in succession of the development of Church organisation, of the distinction between clergy and laity, of the Church as a teacher, of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and lastly of Sunday and the general features of Christian worship. The author brings to his task an ample equipment of learning, but he is evidently hampered by the form chosen for his discourses. The attempt to deal—as in the fifth lecture—with the entire history of the Lord's Supper from the earliest times to the Reformation, of necessity involves the briefest treatment of doctrines of the most subtle intellectual complexity. The account of the ninth century controversy about the nature of the elements, and the final elaboration of the doctrine of transubstantiation, is exceedingly meagre; and

the ultimate dictum—"The Roman Catholic's sacramental Christ is the God of Spinoza" (p. 243), sounds quite absurd to any reader of Catholic Eucharistic devotion. Such a statement is not really due to any want of sympathy or apprehension; it results from the concentration of attention on one particular philosophic idea, which the author has not time to expound. In like manner, in describing the Church's function as teacher, in the third lecture, our author passes over the whole mediæval period in two or three contemptuous sentences (p. 161), which must be pronounced, to say the least, grievously inadequate. And, to conclude our fault-finding, though the author is evidently a competent scholar, such forms as "Giesler," pp. 68, 250, *propteria*, p. 97, *claquers*, p. 141, Œdipodian, p. 217, Pascasius Radbert, p. 235, Marionites, p. 305, have an unpleasantly careless look.

Every one who writes on Christian institutions has, of course, some leading idea in his mind. This determines his method, presides over the selection and arrangements of his facts, suggests the lines of argument, and shapes the final conclusion. This dominant conception may be sought for in theology or philosophy. The older writers on ecclesiastical polity all started from the assumption that the true order and constitution of the Church was originally determined by Jesus Christ. He came to proclaim certain saving truths, to perform a certain redeeming work. In virtue of his divine foreknowledge, he anticipated the needs of subsequent generations by founding a society in which his truth should be maintained and propagated, and his redeeming work brought to bear on the hearts and lives of sinful men. All systems of Church polity, therefore, were traced back to the New Testament. There, it was supposed, the perfect type of teaching and government was discovered in the relation of Jesus to his apostles, and of the apostles to the early Church. Once ascertain what these were, and you have arrived at the knowledge of the will of Christ, and can reproduce the pattern of primitive times confident of the sanction of Heaven. It is not a little remarkable that church systems differing so widely as Congregationalism and Romanism, or even the less absolutely opposed schemes of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, all make their appeal in the last resort to the records of evangelists and the correspondence of apostles.

This idea Dr. Cunningham—turning his back on the Westminster Confession, which is still his ecclesiastical standard—has completely abandoned. He has imbibed the current philosophy of development. The notion of evolution has entire possession of his mind. It controls his whole thought, and he has nearly though not quite always, the courage of his opinions. It even intrudes its scientific terminology to such an extent into his language, that we hear him saying that "the fœtal Christian meeting could develop only into a Christian Church." (p. 7). Sometimes, indeed, the ultimate forms which he presents to us can hardly be described as proper developments of those which went before. The attenuated interpretation of baptism which he attributes to the "bulk of the English clergy" who "do their best to explain away

the objectionable phrases in their catechism and baptismal service," may be rational, but it is hardly an advance (according to Spencer's law of evolution which our author repeats for our edification) "from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity." Indeed, Dr. Cunningham admits as much. He sees that the significance of baptism has undergone many changes; he allows that it can scarcely be said to have undergone development. But he adds triumphantly that "it has shown its capability of adapting itself to circumstances, and in that has been its vitality. . . . The Church in this matter has recognised the fitness of things, or, rather, eternal law has ordained it, and baptism, as it exists, is another example of the survival of the fittest."

It is naturally in the growth of Church organisation that Dr. Cunningham finds the best illustrations of the evolutionary law which he wishes to apply to ecclesiastical institutions. His first lecture is devoted to this subject. He sees clearly that the New Testament represents a period of tendencies, rather than of fixed and stable results; and he finds traces in it first of Congregationalism and then of Presbyterianism. The evolution of the episcopal form of government out of the presbyteral he assigns, and no doubt rightly, to the second century. The large array of topics with which he has to deal in the compass of a single lecture prevents him sometimes from adequately vindicating his positions and guarding himself against misunderstanding. Thus, he draws a curious parallel between the system of Congregational episcopacy, as it may be called, implied in the Ignatian letters, and the polity of the Church of Scotland. The minister is the equivalent of the Ignatian bishop, the elders correspond to the presbyters, and if the elders are assisted (as they sometimes are) by deacons, the resemblance is complete. Only the minister—or the bishop—may administer the sacrament; the participation of the minister—as of the bishop—is necessary to ordination. That is true; there is an external analogy. But we imagine that the farmers of a Highland parish, or the cultivated professional men of an Edinburgh congregation, would be a good deal astonished if they were further told, in Ignatian language, that they must submit to their pastor as to the Father of Jesus Christ, or that he presided over his elders "in the place of God." The ardent and enthusiastic minds of the early Church saw everywhere types, harmonies, correspondences, likenesses, which to us appear exaggerated and overstrained. They cannot be made the basis of sober argument. It is equally misleading to seize on glowing expressions of this sort, with Canon Liddon, and reason that if the Ignatian bishop thus represented God, *a fortiori* he must have represented the apostles, or with Dr. Cunningham to overlook such claims altogether, and grasping only the outward form to ignore the inner spirit.

Again, our author scarcely does justice to the theory of apostolic succession when he states (p. 49) that it did not begin to be mooted till the third century, when it was first used to claim for the bishops the power of forgiving sins. He says nothing about the great conflict of the

second century, between orthodoxy and Gnosticism, which issued in the doctrine of a Catholic church, guaranteeing the maintenance of the truth by uninterrupted succession from apostolic times. The heretics averred that the Scriptures had been corrupted, or were incorrectly interpreted. Appeal to the written word was therefore vain, for they refused to accept its testimony. To what, then, do Irenæus and Tertullian resort as the ultimate standard of the faith? To the teaching of the bishops, whose predecessors had received apostolic ordination in churches founded by apostles. It is no doubt the case that Irenæus still sometimes calls bishops by the more general name, presbyters; but in the very passage which appears in Dr. Cunningham's own pages (p. 51), "the succession of the episcopate" from the apostles is expressly mentioned; and the care which Irenæus takes to enumerate the episcopal links of this succession, as in the case of the Church of Rome, plainly shows that he attached a specific importance to these officers. The champions of Anglicanism, moreover, would make short work with Dr. Cunningham's rash statement that the episcopacy of England rests ultimately on the presbyterianism of Scotland (p. 72), because some of the Scotch missionary bishops who founded sees in north and middle England had only been ordained by the presbyter-abbot of Iona and his monks. In the seventh century struggle between the Scotch and the Roman missionaries, the authority of Rome finally won the day; the Scotch were beaten off the field; and the true episcopal succession was undoubtedly transmitted through Canterbury, by the accredited representatives of the Latin Church.

We have said that Dr. Cunningham has generally the courage of his opinions. His remarks on baptism have been already cited. In a similarly broad spirit he criticises the hesitating language of Calvin and the Shorter Catechism about the Lord's Supper, and frankly adopts the commemorative view of Zwingli. With like desire to bring the Church into harmony with modern ideas does he treat the Sabbath question, and the duties and opportunities of the preacher. When he comes, however, to the development of doctrine, he is a little more timid, and the passages in which he touches Cardinal Newman's well-known thesis are among the least satisfactory in the book. In the matter of existing organisations, however, he boldly adheres to his central evolutionary conception. Whatever exists in undiminished vigour, and manifests progressive power of expansion, must do so in virtue of its harmony with its environment; it survives, because it is the fittest to survive and thus shows itself part of the divine order. When Dr. Hatch expressed a similar view a year or two ago, Canon Liddon retorted on him that it would sanction the papacy itself, which was pre-eminently a survival, if not of the fittest. Dr. Cunningham implicitly accepts this challenge. "The inevitable issue of my argument," he says, "is that the papacy is the highest development of ecclesiastical polity. It was the necessary result of the tendency of events from the first century downwards. It is a marvellous organisation, maintaining order and

unity; giving authority, and yet restraining excesses, over half the world. It may be said to be the product of divine law rather than of human wisdom. . . . The free spirit of the Apostolic Church gave way to the imperial temper of the Papal Church; and the imperialism of the papacy bended before the republicanism of presbytery in several countries of Europe; but each has done good, and is doing good, in its own time and place. And so may God prosper all! Some people call this indifferentism, but if good is done, it surely does not much matter how it is done." Certainly evolution is a spell to conjure with, when it can charm such words as these out of a successor of John Knox

J. E. C.

Christ and Christianity. I. The Story of the Four. II. The Picture of Jesus. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A. London: Charles Burnet and Co. 1886.

SUCH volumes as these create a painful perplexity in the mind of a reviewer. He finds in them some true statements of fact, some just sentiments, some powerful dramatic descriptions. He perceives that the author has come strongly under the influence of modern conceptions which have profoundly affected his theological and historical ideas. He desires to give the writer all credit for his openness in declaring results which it is perfectly clear are widely divergent from the standards of the church to which he belongs. But at the same time he feels bound to protest in the strongest terms against the scandalous inaccuracy and irredeemable vulgarity with which the highest of themes has been disfigured, so that "The Picture of Jesus," drawn in the gaudiest colours, is stained and smeared almost past recognition.

The first part of Mr. Haweis's work deals with the origin and character of the Gospel narratives, the book of Acts, and the Apocalypse. There is much here that is well and usefully said, though the constant exaggeration and effort after effect make it necessary rigidly to check every assertion.* The general view is that of Mr. Matthew Arnold, whose ideas on the sources of the fourth Gospel and its relation to the first three are here pretty faithfully followed. Perhaps the best chapter is that on the book of Revelation. Mr. Haweis states with the utmost frankness two of its fundamental ideas, the expectation of the overthrow of the Roman Empire after the death of Nero, and the belief in the immediate return of Jesus. The author appears to have studied this "cryptograph" with some care, which is more than can be said for some other parts of his work. He disclaims in his preface all pretensions

* Thus the very first sentence of the first chapter (p. 5) contains an error. It asserts that Pompeii and Herculaneum "were destroyed (before the end of Paul's life) in A.D. 63." Both cities suffered severely in that year from an earthquake, but the eruption which destroyed them did not take place till the year 79.

to original research; but he might at least have read the books which he criticises. Had he done so we should not have found him writing thus:—

"In Mark . . . . . Jesus is the Messiah—the Elect of God—the Christ; never the Son of God—only once (Mark i. 1) 'a Son of God'; four times 'the Son of Man.' In the first verse of St. Mark our translators have deliberately falsified the text by translating *υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* '*the* Son of' instead of 'a Son'; and the translators of the new Revised Version have been too much afraid of the Unitarians to correct it" (pp. 25, 26).

The charge against the Revisers recoils on Mr. Haweis's own head. On Mark i. 1 the marginal note states that "some ancient authorities omit *the Son of God*." In Mark iii. 11 the unclean spirits cry, "Thou art the Son of God" (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*). The Gerasene demoniac addresses Jesus (Mark v. 7) as "Thou Son of the Most High God." The High Priest at the trial inquires, "Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" and Jesus replies, "I am" (Mark xiv. 61). And beneath the cross the centurion affirms, "Truly, this man was the Son of God" (Mark xv. 39), where the phrase is the same as in Mark i. 1, and the Revisers add in the margin "or *a Son of God*." After this it is not surprising that the relations of the second and third Gospels should be represented thus:—

"It is certain that Mark's Gospel, when it appeared, soon fell into Luke's hands; and he has, in fact, incorporated almost the whole of it in his own compilation (except vi. 45, viii. 26, and the Passion)" (p. 76).

This affected precision would lead any ordinary reader to suppose that, up to the narrative of the Passion, vi. 45 and viii. 26 were the only verses in Mark not embodied in Luke. A glance at such passages as i. 6, 13 *bc*, ii. 13, 27, iii. 20, 21, iv. 26—29, vi. 18—29, vi. 45—viii. 10, &c., will show how misleading is such a statement, and how groundless is the inference implicitly founded upon it.

"The Story of the Four" is comparatively free from homiletic adornment; but nearly every page of "The Picture of Jesus" bears the stamp of the popular preacher. Sometimes the illustrations are felicitous, as in the case of one or two anecdotes of Garibaldi. At other times they are grievously lowering. What is to be thought, for instance, of this?

"The flight into Egypt preceded this massacre. It was the simplest thing in those days to step over the frontier, round the corner of the Mediterranean into Egypt—just as we slip over to Boulogne or Paris; the road from ancient times was so beaten a track, that the very cab and horse fares are mentioned." (See 1 *Kings*, x. 29.) (p. 18.)

Mr. Haweis has a perfect right to regard the flight into Egypt as a historical incident, if he believes he can combine it with the statements of Luke, whose narrative he elsewhere follows. But he has no right to degrade it by a perversion of ancient fact, and an absurd modern analogy. The treatment of the miraculous elements is somewhat fitful and uncertain. The miraculous conception and the virgin birth are practically abandoned for a theory of "post-natal transfusion of Deity." Some miracles, such as those of healing, are explained as the operation of a

potent personality on high-wrought nerves. Some, like the feeding of the five thousand, or the walking on the water, are ignored. The miracle at the feast of Cana is attributed to the Johannine editor, who in John ii. 7 added the words "with water" to the direction of Jesus "fill the water-pots," the theory being that Jesus and his friends had brought the wine with them, and left it at the door, to be used if wanted! However false this may be to the spirit of the narrative, it does not absolutely contradict it when the necessary words are eliminated. But the suggestions of the following passage are not thus admissible:—

"In the narrative of (Luke iii. 3—23) John baptizing in Jordan—his encounter with, and advice to, all sorts and conditions of men, the arrival of Jesus, the descent of the spirit like a dove and the voice from heaven—in these incidents the student of history sees nothing unusual or necessarily unhistorical. Even the shining dove and the heavenly voice need not disturb us, since most people gifted with common sense, following St. Jerome and Theodoret, explain that we need suppose nothing more than a light—probably a sunbeam—through a cloud, which, to the spiritual eye, was the holy dove, and a peal of thunder from the cloud, which, to the spiritual ear, was a heavenly voice" (pp. 29 *sq.*).

Had Mr. Haweis quoted Matthew instead of Luke, this interpretation might have seemed less fantastic, for Matt. iii. 16, by expressly saying, "*He* saw the spirit of God descending as a dove," might be held to imply that the event was a subjective vision, not an outward fact. But Luke iii. 21, on which Mr. Haweis relies, does not admit of this interpretation. "The holy spirit," it is there said, "descended *in a bodily form* as a dove upon him;" as a visible bird, therefore, and not a beam of light. As to St. Jerome's view, we do not know what private sources of information Mr. Haweis may have; but in the commentary which bears his name there is nothing about sunbeams or thunder-peals. On the contrary, he asserts that "the dove settled over the head of Jesus, that no one might suppose that the voice of the Father was addressed to John and not to the Lord." (See Jerome on *Matt.* iii. 17.) Why Theodoret should be set beside Jerome is not clear. In the only passage we can discover in his writings on this subject, he says simply, "The Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove" (*Cantic.* viii.). Mr. Haweis ought to be aware that such rationalising as he ascribes to fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries is a complete anachronism.

Further samples of inaccuracy are perhaps unnecessary. Yet we cannot forbear to express our astonishment that the Pharisaic charge against Jesus should be *twice* quoted thus, "a *drunken* man and a wine-bibber" (pp. 123, 128). In his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount Mr. Haweis infers that the principles of conduct there enunciated must be "sometimes limited according to common sense." The inference is supported by this statement: "Jesus said, 'Swear not at all' yet Jesus, when adjured by Pilate, himself swore" (p. 88). This appears to be a confusion with the incident of the trial (Matt. xxvi. 64), when Caiaphas adjures Jesus "by the living God" (comp. Haweis, p. 243); but the reply of Jesus, "Thou hast said," cannot be described as swearing. After this it is not so surprising as might at first sight appear that Mr.

Haweis should pause in his running comments on the teachings of Jesus to explain the origin of the phrase "My eye and Betty Martin"!

Not much more value can be attached to Mr. Haweis's critical constructiveness than to his statements of fact. The chapter on Judas sets forth a view which the author appears to think is new. It is the familiar conception that Judas sought to force Jesus into a vindication of his Messianic claim, and thus establish the kingdom by an immediate display of conquering power. It hangs on the assertion that Judas carried the bag, from which all kinds of inferences concerning his love of money, covetousness, ambition, &c., are deduced. But the enlightened reader is expressly put on his guard against misleading impressions, in these terms:—

"That 'Judas was a thief,' that he 'cared not for the poor,' are both statements to be received with caution, occurring as they do in the late Gospel of John" (p. 225) . . . . . "Those who presided over the issue of St. John's Gospel, at least seventy years after the events recorded in it took place, probably knew little of Judas except the last black blunder of his life—and all estimates of him should be received with due caution—especially by those who have read the 'Story of the Four'" (pp. 238 *sq.*).

The warning has a wider scope than the author perhaps intended. The statement that Judas had the bag, which is the nucleus of his whole presentment of Judas's motive, rests on exactly the same evidence as the statement that he was a thief, for it occurs in the same verse, John xii. 6 (though it is repeated also in John xiii. 29). If the one is rejected, why is the other retained, except that Mr. Haweis may write fifteen pages of quasi-dramatic portraiture?—It would be easy to add further examples of the same slip-shod want of method.

Mr. Haweis appears to desire to rescue what he calls "the Christianity of Christ" from what he calls "the bad metaphysics of Alexandria." Others may perhaps deal with the questions raised by him in such a paragraph as sec. 149, headed "Is Jesus quite orthodox?" It is not our place to ask whether Mr. Haweis has a right at once to hold the opinions of these volumes and to remain a clergyman of the Church of England, bound every week to conduct a service in which the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Litany are integral parts. Mr. Haweis deserves sympathy for his frank avowal of his opinions. But when the other question is put, How far has Mr. Haweis succeeded in his avowed aim "to realise Jesus, not as he may have been drawn by the devout imagination of the Middle Ages, but as he actually lived and moved and had his being in Galilee, at Nazareth, and at Jerusalem"? we are compelled to answer that he has not succeeded at all. "Some preachers," he tells us "are small in great things. They be-little their subjects, both in matter and manner" (p. 84). Of this process we can recall no more conspicuous or unfortunate instance than "The Picture of Jesus."

J. E. C.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

NOVEMBER.

18.—Conference of Clergymen and Nonconformist Ministers in the City Temple to discuss the question, "Is a State Church Compatible with true Christian Unity," the Rev. J. G. Rogers presiding. Referring to pulpit exchanges between clergymen and Nonconformists, the Chairman said he did not consider them desirable until they could be conducted on equal terms, and this could not be till the churches were placed on an equality by the Disestablishment of the Episcopal Church. It was a discredit to Protestantism that this inequality still stood in the way of free and spontaneous acts of Christian courtesy which should make it manifest to the world that with all their differences the Christian churches were still one.

The *Rev. Richard Glover,* vicar of St. Luke's, West Holloway, saw a gradual approach of Nonconformists to the Church of England in many respects, in architecture, in the form of their services, in church decoration and ornament, and he confidently expected many of the ministers would soon seek ordination at the hands of the bishops. They would have more liberty under the bishops than they now had under their deacons.

The *Rev. C. L. Marston,* rector of Orlestone, Kent, declared that he held it to be the first duty of a man to join the greatest body of his fellow-men that he conscientiously could, so as to get as much communion as possible with that Christ who was one with the least of his brethren. Should any one outside that larger body wish to exchange pulpits with one within it, it might fairly be said to him that either he had violated this principle and wilfully isolated himself, or else there must be such fundamental differences between them as to make the exchange inconsistent. The true union they had to find would be a union in the theology expressed in greater zeal for the immediate good of the poor. When no minister was allowed in the Church of England without being elected by the voice of the people there would be a chance of union. He approved of the Establishment of the Church, but he disapproved of the endowment of the clergy. When the incomes both of clergymen and ministers had been reduced so that they could only just provide the bare necessaries of life, then they would have a Church which was at one with Christ, because it would be at one with the poorest of his people, and they would have the unity to which every Christian heart must aspire.

Dr. Clifford said that the desire of Nonconformists to enter the Church

of England was not due to envy of position or of the emoluments. The object of the desire was a close union in sympathy with the great heart of Christ in his prayer that the church might be one. The law required altering which prohibited pulpit exchanges between the clergy and the Nonconformists; and patrons of livings should be allowed to appoint any men of good Christian character and reputation; but they did not desire uniformity of organisation or catholicity of forms, but catholicity of spirit and unity of heart. The great contest of the day was between an exclusive sacerdotalism and the free, natural, and simple teaching of the New Testament.

23.—Meeting of the Congregational Board, at which Canon Farrar delivered an address on "How far and on what grounds can Christian Communions approach each other with a view to co-operation." He declared his belief that a Reunion of Christendom was impossible, inasmuch as it was impossible to reach absolute truth, and so long as different views of truth remained they would enshrine themselves in different organisations. Union between Romanists and Protestants was impossible. Union between the different sections of Protestants had been possible in the past if the clergy had listened to the moderate counsels of men like Tillotson. He looked for unity through the recognition of the fact that the points of agreement among Protestants are primary and universal, the points of difference trivial and unimportant. He quoted with approval Jeremy Taylor's suggestion of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed as the basis of a Catholic Church. He thought the Church of England should set an example in regard to united work. He recognised Christian results in all churches. By their *fruits* not by their *doctrines* ye shall know them. Heresy ought not to be made a ground of exclusion from the church. He appealed to the declaration of Lacordaire, "Where there is the love of God, there is Jesus Christ; and where Jesus Christ is, there is the Church." He declared his opinion that the question of the future was not simply ecclesiastical, but was the question between Atheism and Christianity, Materialism and Spirituality, Anarchy and Moral Law; and Christians should unite on the ground of their *common duties* and their *common perils*. He did not think that Disestablishment would draw the churches nearer to each other, but rather exacerbate jealousies, and hand over the English Church to the sacerdotal party.

Dr. Allon, in the discussion which followed, declared his opinion that the two things which stood in the way of real corporate union were *the Act of Uniformity* and *Episcopacy*. No remedy could be found for present division save the full and frank recognition of the orders of the ministry in all the churches. This last opinion especially was endorsed by several other speakers.

Canon Farrar, in replying, pointed out that the sacerdotalists whom the other speakers denounced were almost the only men in the Church who desired Disestablishment. He regarded sacerdotalism as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity, and was willing to recognise the validity

of the orders of all Christian ministers. It was, he thought, more by individual effort than by any corporate action that the distinctions which surround the churches were to be diminished.

25.—The Bishop of Durham delivered his Visitation Charge. We give some of the more important passages in relation to the ecclesiastical and religious questions of the day in full, and a summary of other parts. After speaking of the advantage that has accrued from the division of the diocese and the formation of the See of Newcastle, and of the great extension of Church work that has taken place and the formation of new parishes, the Bishop, coming to the subject of consecration of cemeteries and churchyards, says :—

"When the Act of 1880 was passed I resolved to continue the consecration of burial-grounds as before, wherever I received an invitation from the proper authorities. I saw no reason for doing otherwise, and I had satisfied myself that I should be acting in accordance with the vastly preponderating feeling of the clergy and laity of the diocese. There was not a word in the Consecration Service which required changing to adapt it to the altered condition of things; and it seemed to me that a very real wound would be inflicted on Christian sentiment by discontinuing this eminently pious use. I am thankful to say that I did not miscalculate the prevailing sentiment. The applications to me to consecrate burial-grounds have been even more frequent since the passing of the Act than before. Besides the graveyards attached to and consecrated with newly-erected churches, I have since the last Visitation consecrated nineteen cemeteries, or additions to cemeteries or to churchyards."

After describing briefly the work done by the Canon Missioner appointed about three years ago, both in general mission work and in the institution of permanent missions in three parishes under his supervision, he continues:—"The work of the Canon Missioner is a fresh illustration of the real importance to the Church of endowed canonries. I could never consent to regard the canonries at Durham as appendages to some parochial or other ecclesiastical charge, or as mere places of dignified ease. The Canons of Durham, one and all, I thankfully acknowledge, recognise the true conception of a canonry, as furnishing full employment in itself for a man's energies. Where their time is not given to the University, it is given to the diocese. A sensible loss would be incurred by the withdrawal of any one from the general diocesan work. There are not, in my opinion, too many, but too few, such posts in the Church, if only their ideal is fully realised."

The following account is given of the institution of lay-readers and evangelists, and in connection with this of the work of the Church Army:—"Nearly a year ago I was consulted as to the practicability of instituting an order of itinerant lay preachers, who should go about and take services in neglected parts of our great towns and outlying hamlets, either in mission-rooms or in the open air. The movement arose simultaneously in two separate rural deaneries, Auckland and Wearmouth. It was further commended to me by the fact that the initiative was taken by the laymen themselves, who were in some cases working men. . . . A meeting of those interested in this movement was held in Sunderland, at which I presided. I was deeply impressed by the earnestness and sobriety of tone which marked the speakers; and I felt that I should incur a grave responsibility if I did not do all in my power to encourage a movement which seemed to be the prompting of the Holy Spirit, and which held out hope of so much spiritual usefulness. Accordingly, at my suggestion, rules were drawn up, and submitted to me by the two rural deaneries after mutual consultation; and, having received my assent, they were published in the March number of the Diocesan Magazine. But your evangelist, it may be said, bears a strong likeness to the Wesleyan local preacher. I am not ashamed of the resemblance. I freely confess my admiration of the marvellous capacity of organisation which distinguished John Wesley, and which he has bequeathed to his followers. The truest Churchmen are those

whose minds are most open to the lessons which can be gathered from all quarters. . . . The regulations contemplate two orders—evangelists and assistant-evangelists or probationers. A member of the second order is not received into the first except after due examination by persons approved by the bishop. In May last I admitted the first band of lay evangelists for the Auckland deanery in my own chapel, six in number. They are aided by seven assistants. These men have now been at work for six months, and the result has been beneficial in many ways. . . .

"The Church Army has now been tried in several parishes in this diocese; and I gratefully acknowledge the beneficial results. I do not put it forward as a universal specific for spiritual destitution. There are some parishes where it would be altogether out of place. There are others which do not need it, having already machinery for doing the same work. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary that the incumbent should place himself at the head, so as to direct and control its operations. An army without a commander is a gross anomaly. The fastidiousness also which resists methods perfectly legitimate, but not commending themselves to refined taste, must be laid aside. But under the proper conditions the Church Army may prove a very real blessing to many a district. I take as examples the two parishes in this diocese where it was first introduced, and in which it has had the longest and fairest trial—the Venerable Bede's, Monkwearmouth, and St. John's, Sunderland. I cannot for a moment doubt—the confirmations are visible proof—that in these parishes it has effected what no existing parochial organisation could have effected; it has dragged numbers of men and women out of the gutter, has expelled the demon of drink or of some other gross vice, and has seated them, clothed and in their right mind, at the feet of Christ. Of one thing I am sure, no incumbent need be apprehensive as to the loyalty of the officers. Loyalty is a fundamental principle in the Church Army."

Referring to the Archbishop of Canterbury's *Patronage Bill*, the Bishop says: "In the forefront of all Church reforms stands the question of patronage. It occupies this prominent position not only from its own intrinsic importance, as involving indirectly other considerations of the highest moment, the sale of benefices, the checks on unfitness of presentees, and the like, but also because it has been more thoroughly discussed and is more nearly ripe for solution than others. The Archbishop's Bill has undergone the scrutiny of many eyes; and, if we may judge from what has happened, it has in its final form a fair chance of passing the Legislature. I do not say that I consider it perfect. It does not go as far in some directions as I could have wished. . . . Nevertheless, I am persuaded that, if carried, it will remove nine-tenths of the evils of the present system, while it will preserve all the advantages. . . . As regards the transference and alienation of patronage we must remember that we have to deal with an existing state of things, which was not of our own creating. The possession of patronage is not only a trust, but it is a right—a privilege also. . . . But patronage, if it is a right, is a trust also; and where the two conflict, the right must give way to the trust. While therefore we are not justified in depriving a patron of his right without proper compensation, we are not only permitted, but we are bound to create such safeguards as will secure that this trust is not violated, even though some restriction be thus imposed on the patron's freedom of action. If the right is exercised, it must be exercised in favour of fit persons; if it is transferred, it must be transferred into proper hands and in a seemly way. In either case no scandal or detriment to the Church must be permitted. A violation of the trust is an abuse of the right; and no quarter should be given to abuses. . . . But even more important than the restrictions on the transference of patronage are the restrictions on the exercise of it, as provided by the Bill. In the existing state of things the bishop is powerless to refuse institution to a presentee, unless he has laid himself open to moral or doctrinal charges which a law court would sustain. Even in this case the bishop's refusal exposes him to vexatious and very costly law proceedings. . . . The Archbishop's Bill provides a remedy for this state of things. . . . A whole month's notice is to be given to the parish before institution. Any parishioners may submit their objections in writing to the bishop, and he may, if he thinks fit, refer them to the council. If the council reports against the pre-

sentee, the bishop may refuse institution. This is a new and a highly important safeguard. Though many would consider that the parishioners are not the best body to appoint their own clergyman, there are few who would wish to withhold from them this opportunity of representation."

After expressing himself in approval of lay patronage as in some respects superior to ecclesiastical patronage—a lay patron being "more free in his choice than an ecclesiastical patron"—the Bishop proceeds to the question of the formation of new dioceses and the proposal of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol that the Episcopal incomes should be taxed and six new sees founded with the money thus raised. This the Bishop of Durham approves, but suggests that in the case of Episcopal incomes which had already contributed to the formation of new sees, the taxing should not be less as proposed by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, but should be applied within the diocese to the increase, for instance, of the incomes of the poorer livings in the gift of the bishop. Thus he, for instance, would be taxed to the same extent as the other bishops, but the diocese itself, which had so recently contributed to the founding of the new see of Newcastle, would get the benefit of it.

In regard to parochial incumbencies, he thought there was room for reform, but deprecated "the extravagant schemes of levelling which find favour in some quarters . . . . Within the last year or two arrangements have been made, or are in progress, by which not less than five of the most highly endowed benefices in this diocese in the patronage of the Bishop have parted, or will part, with a very appreciable fraction of their endowments for the benefit of their poorer neighbours. I am bound to say that my suggestions have been cheerfully met by the incumbents of these benefices, even where they involved immediate personal sacrifices. As occasion serves I shall hope to extend the operation of this principle. But there is another method which has been suggested to remedy the great inequalities of clerical incomes. All livings above a certain amount might be taxed to create a fund for supplying the needs of the poorly endowed benefices. To produce anything like an adequate sum it would probably be necessary to have a graduated scale of taxation. To this I can see no valid objection. On the contrary, it would seem to be highly reasonable. . . . The imposers of the tax would presumably be the Houses of Convocation, and in these the clergy of superior means are more than adequately represented."

In conclusion, the Bishop advocates the claims of the "Church House" scheme for a memorial of the Queen's Jubilee. "I would submit," he says, "that all true Churchmen, whatever may have been their preference in the first instance, should join heartily in the promotion of this object, that a memorial may be raised which shall be worthy alike of the signal event which it commemorates and of the great Church in whose name it is reared. There are many among us—I confess that I am one—who yearn for the time when the Church of England as a whole shall possess a general representative assembly. The erection of this building will be a fit prelude, as we trust it may prove an unerring augury, of such a Convocation of the Church."

The report of Diocesan Finance gives the amount spent on church building and decoration, parsonages, schools, mission-houses, &c., during the last four years, as £223,725.

26.—A meeting of the Manchester Reform Club was held for the purpose of considering the subject of Church Reform. Canon Fremantle delivered an address, at the opening of which he confessed that he believed that a great many "Church Reformers" in the Church would relinquish their efforts if the Liberation Society became extinct; but he and those who felt with him would go on until they were successful in their efforts. The following is an abstract of the report in *The Guardian:*

He felt convinced that the result of any of the schemes of Disestablishment now before the public would be to create a vast sect of which the clergy would form the nucleus, and in which they would practically be the governing power. To that sect would be handed over a vast amount of national property, prestige,

a position in every parish, and the strongholds of the churches. All this great national property, now under national control, would be transferred to this sect. . . . . He was aware that the advocates of Disestablishment disclaimed any desire to injure the Church. They said it would become grander and more powerful. But what was this Church that was going to be so powerful? Not the Church of England they had known, but a clerical sect which they were going to establish for the first time, and to give to it prestige and power. He had been fighting all his life against that clericalism, and it was the thing they had to fight against. There was a better way of getting rid of the evils which existed than by the establishment of clericalism in England. . . . . He hoped the Liberal party would do nothing of the kind. If the Liberal party set the great machine in operation—if they did nothing but the initiatory act, they would be responsible for its being carried on in the way in which they had founded it. (Cheers.) The principle he advocated was that which had been acted on in England—namely, that the nation was the great Christian body coporate, which was capable of regulating all its affairs, spiritual as well as material. He believed it to be the only plan which could be followed out, and he was convinced that the people were inclined to follow it out still. No doubt Church reform had to some extent been hindered of late years by a strange combination which had sometimes come about between the Liberationists and the clericalists, to which unfortunately Mr. Gladstone had lent himself to prevent really Liberal measures from being brought forward. When the *Radical Programme* first came out it stated that there was no more chance now of Parliament interfering in any matter of Church discipline than there was of its agreeing to make grants for building churches, as it had done at the beginning of the century. At that very time a very important Church Discipline Act was passing through Parliament, and it received the sanction of the Crown before the end of the session—he meant the Pluralities Amendment Act. That was, however, felt to be the right thing, and Parliament did not hesitate to do it. . . . . His impression was that if the Founder of the Christian Church were to be present now he would not advise them to found any more denominations, or desire to multiply bishoprics or have great churches built. He would care much more for the spread of justice between man and man —(cheers)—and the establishment of right relations between them, the lifting up of those classes that were down, that they might share in the great brotherhood of humanity. They were becoming very much ashamed of the differences which existed between them, and which had been carried a great deal too far. The real interests of men, the true Christian interests, did not lie where these differences lay. Theological speculation had changed its mind altogether, and the differences he referred to had become minor differences, which they thought very little of. Inasmuch, therefore, as there was nothing to hinder the nation from doing what it was doing from day to day—all the good it could on all sides—there was no reason why it should not carry out reforms in the Church. . . . The ever-present Church of England was the whole nation and nothing but the nation, and to say that a certain number of persons were to reform themselves apart from the nation was simply unmeaning. Until the great Liberal party saw their way to take up great Church reforms, nothing could possibly be done. Would they go to Convocation? Convocation simply represented the clergy, and they were not the Church. Convocation would make no reforms. It had hardly ever done such a thing in the history of its existence, and it was not likely it would begin now. The only thing which could reform the Church of England was the English nation acting through the national organs. (Cheers.) There were three evils of which they complained which stood out prominently. In the first place, the parochial system was not efficient, because it was not parochial but clerical. The people must manage their own Church affairs. The second reform had reference to the interchange of pulpits, or, as he preferred to style it, pulpit freedom. That was to say, it would enable on the one side the clergymen, in consultation with the Church council and with the general sanction of the Bishop, to invite any person capable of edifying a congregation to address them in the church; and on the other hand a clergyman would have the power, when asked to preach in a nonconformist pulpit, to do so without any restraint, and this kind of pulpit freedom would, in his judgment, be fruitful of much good. His third point was

to repeal to a large extent the Act of Uniformity. . . . He could not rest satisfied with a state of things that made religion into a number of sects separated one from another. If they would preserve the Christian unity of the nation and bring the keen influences of national life to bear on the ecclesiastical life, they might make the Church life something more than had ever existed, not only in England, but on the face of the earth. (Cheers.)"

DECEMBER.

8.—*The Guardian* contains a letter from Sir George W. Cox, Bishop-Elect of Natal, in reply to the statements made in its columns and elsewhere "(1) that the persons calling themselves members of the Church of England in Natal are an insignificant minority in comparison with the number of those who call themselves members of the Church of South Africa in Natal; and (2) that this insignificant minority is merely a faction of 'Colensoites.'" In regard to the first point he asserts that the members of the Church of England form a majority as compared with the members of the Church of South Africa. "On this point," he says, "I have no fear or misgiving; but I am bound to declare emphatically that all reference to mere numbers is in this matter altogether irrelevant and misleading. It has been ruled that the whole question turns on the religious standards of the two churches, and that the religious standard of the Church of England is to be found in 'the formularies of the Church as judicially interpreted.' . . . If ten persons in the colony of Natal accept this standard, they constitute the Church of England in Natal; if ten thousand or a hundred thousand reject it, they place themselves outside the limits of that Church, whatever may be their professions or their protests." In regard to the second point he says: "If the members of the Church of England in Natal were largely or wholly 'Colensoites,' their rights as members of the Church of England would be precisely what they are now. But the intrusion of this implication is a monstrous injustice, against which I am bound to enter a protest far more emphatic than that which I have made against the intrusion of the topic of numbers. The statement is absolutely false. Whether any would acknowledge themselves to be 'Colensoites,' I cannot say. What is quite certain is, that the great majority indignantly deny the truth of the imputation." In reply to the contention of the Archbishop of Canterbury that the decision of Privy Council in the appeal of Merriman *v.* Williams, dealt only with the devolution of property, and that higher interests are here at stake, Sir George Cox declares that that decision 'deals throughout with a living principle—with the principle by which the Church of England in England is governed, and on which the liberties of its members depend." "I appeal," he says in conclusion, "without fear and without misgiving, to the decisions which have declared that sayings and teachings are not to be treated as penal offences in South Africa when they are not penal offences in England. In the words of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—

"'The decisions in the cases of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, and Williams *v.* the Bishop of Salisbury, affirm and secure the right of a clergy-

man of the Church of England to preach freely the doctrines which were then in question: but in the Church of South Africa, a clergyman preaching the same doctrines may find himself prosecuted for, and found guilty of, heresy. Such a reservation on the part of the Church of South Africa must tend to silence and to exclude those whom the decisions of Her Majesty in Council would protect in the Church of England.'

"The protection of these decisions has been confined to the members of *no* one school or party. It has covered the teaching and the conviction of Mr. Gorham and Mr. J. E. Bennett, of Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson, and through these of Mr. Maurice and Dr. Pusey, and many more. It is to the glory of the English Church that so it should be. That so it shall be in the diocese of Natal, decision after decision of the highest courts in the land have repeatedly declared. That so it may be is all that the members of the Church of England in Natal require; and to this demand the law of England gives its most solemn sanction. They ask for nothing more than justice, they will accept nothing less. For delivering them from what may at any time prove to be a crushing ecclesiastical tyranny, exercised at the cost of any school or party, they look to the maintenance of the Royal supremacy, the action of which during the last fifty years has been altogether beneficial. It remains to be seen whether any opposition will or can be afforded to it."

8.—At a meeting of the Bedford Debating Society, in a discussion on "Church Reform *versus* Disestablishment," Dr. Martineau sketched a plan for Disestablishment, while preserving the Endowments for religious purposes. The following are the main outlines of his plan as reported.

The Ecclesiastical courts to be abolished, and all special privileges taken from the Episcopal Church. Religious equality being thus secured, the endowments bestowed on the Church since 1662, when it became an Episcopal sect, to be left to it. The older endowments to be thrown open to all the various religious bodies, and thus preserved to religious purposes. The parish churches to be left to the Episcopal Church, and the cathedrals to be retained by the nation, to be used by different religious bodies in turn, and occasionally for united services of all.

11.—Conference of the National Church Reform Union in Manchester. —Resolutions to the following effect were passed relating to election of Church Boards:—

The electors to be the persons entitled to vote for churchwardens in an ancient parish; the members of the board to be the incumbent, churchwardens, and four others, one of whom may be nominated by the incumbent; assistant clergy to be eligible for election or nomination; each member of the board to make a declaration that he will "faithfully perform the duties of the office as a member of the Church of England by law established."

A resolution was passed approving generally the Archbishop's *Patronage Bill*, but disapproving the constitution of the proposed Council of Presentations.

14.—Liberal Federal Meeting at Rhyl.—The following was agreed to:—

"That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived for the Church of England in Wales to be disestablished and disendowed, and that all the tithes of Wales should be devoted to matters purely national within the Principality."

The Christian Reformer.

FEBRUARY, 1887.

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

III.—Official Personality.

1. THIS kind of Personality is to be distinguished from the Individual and the Social. It is not less real and certain than the others, and it agrees exactly with the common meaning of the Latin *persona*, from which the English *person* is derived. In a passage often quoted, Cicero speaks of his one *self* as sustaining three *persons* (*tres personas unus sustineo*). This use of the term is stated and explained in Sandar's "Justinian." "It was used not only for the being who had the capacity for enjoying rights and fulfilling duties, but also for the different characters or parts in which this capacity showed itself; or, to borrow the metaphor suggested by the etymology of the word, for the different *masks* or *faces* which the actor wore in playing his part in the drama of civil and social life. Thus, for instance, the same man might have the *persona patris*, or *tutoris*, or *mariti;* that is, might be regarded in his character of father, tutor, or husband." * Spenser writes of Elizabeth, "She beareth two *persons*, the one of a most royal queen or empress, and the other of a most virtuous and beautiful lady."† Dr. Johnson

* Sandar's "Institutes of Justinian," p. 86.

† Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, prefixed to the "Fairy Queen."

gives *character* and *office*, as meanings of *person* in Bacon, Shakspere, and South. This usage was more common formerly than it is now, but it is still retained, especially in legal and theological language.

2. Most writers on the Trinity state explicitly, that they do not use the term "person" in the more common English sense. The Creed called the Athanasian, which declares that there are three Persons and one God, was first written in Latin, and *person* is simply a translation of *persona*. There is nothing unreasonable or unintelligible in the statement, if the word is taken with the common Latin signification, which is also a recognised English meaning. It becomes unreasonable or unintelligible, when another signification is taken, merely because it is more familiar. Three Divine Persons, in the usual sense of the word, would be three Gods. But it is repeated again and again in the creed, that there is but one God; and more than this, three Agents are denied, as well as three Gods. There are not Three, who are eternal, incomprehensible, uncreated; but only One. The three terms, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are understood in various ways, but no interpretation which implies a real plurality of intelligent agents is consistent with the creed. This declares what is required by, and inferred from, a plurality of actions and appearances, but nothing more. The Creator, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, are three *persons*, according to the language of the creed; the names referring to different operations and manifestations. The names are not given to the *manifestations*, which belong to time, are different and finite; but to what is inferred from them, as ever existing in the one God, who is unchangeable and infinite. The Trinity of persons is therefore internal and not simply external. All the various manifestations are referred to the same object, the one God, eternal and indivisible.*

* As the Latin Fathers used *persona*, so the Greek used πρόσωπον (face, appearance.) Another term, ὑπόστασις, (substance, subject) is sometimes used in the

3. The Creed called the Apostles' is a statement of *facts* in the language of Scripture; but the other creeds are *inferences* of various kinds, framed with a reference to ancient controversies. God is called the Father, when referred to as the *origin* of all existence, both created and uncreated; the Son, when referred to as *intelligence*, knowing and known; and the Spirit, when referred to as *power*, present and acting. In all the creeds the Father is declared to be the Maker of heaven and earth; and in the controversial creeds the Son is described as God manifested—first, in the creation of the universe, and afterwards in the salvation of men. The personal distinctions of *begotten* and *proceeding* are not what these words ordinarily mean. "In this Trinity none is afore or after another, none is greater or less than another. But the three Persons are co-eternal and co-equal." Besides these there are other distinctions, equally true, and more useful. The Church Catechism states that the "chief" lessons of Christian theology are these—to acknowledge "God the Father," who made "all the world"; "God the Son," who redeemed "all mankind"; and "God the Holy Spirit," who sanctifies "all the chosen people of God." The three names belong to one and the same God, who is thus made known; and all that is known of Him may be referred to one or other of these divisions. They are to be considered separately, that a due impression may be received of each; and to be combined, because there is but one God. A few theologians have taken the three names to represent three Agents, and the Unity of God is described as a *social* union. But this has never been the common faith of Christians, and it is contrary to the creeds and to the Bible. The Messiah of the Old Testament is the Christ

same sense; and sometimes in the sense of οὐσία (being, essence). From this ambiguity, statements quite consistent may appear to be contrary. Person is always distinguished from *substance* and *essence*, but may be a *subject*, as any other abstraction may be. S. Paul says that he forgave in the *person* of Christ (ἐν προσώπῳ), *i.e.*, with his authority, as representing the Lord. (2 Cor. ii. 10.)

of the New, who is always referred to as an *individual person*, having a self different from that of the Father; but this self is *human*, belonging to one who is described as "a servant of Jehovah," and "a son of man." The Spirit is sometimes referred to as God, but generally as an exercise of Divine power. Neither the Word, nor the Spirit of God, is ever declared in the Bible to be another *self*—to have an intelligence, affection, and will different from the intelligence, affection, and will of the Father.*

4. As with a single Self there may be several Persons, so with several Selves there may be but one Person. What is impossible and absurd where individual personality is supposed, is intelligible and true, where official personality is understood. As one man may hold many offices, so many men may hold jointly one *office*, and so be one *person*. Thus a committee, a company, or a government, is one person. A sovereign and a subject are one person, when all the authority of the former is exercised through the latter. The Creed which asserts that there are three persons in one God, also asserts that "God and Man" united are the one person Christ. God alone is not the Redeemer, nor is Man, but both in union. Thus the title, "God the Son" is not equivalent to "the Son of God," for the subject of the

* The term Spirit is commonly used in the Bible for some single exercise of Divine power, generally on human minds. But the Divine Spirit is also a *person*, as the human *spirit* is a person (Rom i. 8; 1 Cor. ii. 10). The only passage which attributes to the Spirit a *personality* different from that of the Father, is declared to have been spoken *figuratively*, ἐν παροιμίαις (John xvi. 25). This expression appears to refer to the preceding *personification* of the Spirit (xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 13). Nothing else needed this description. Jesus always spoke of his own *self* as different from the Father; but on no other occasion did he speak thus of the Spirit. The words Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have been long used to express the Church doctrine of the Trinity, but this does not appear to have been their original use and meaning. In Matt. xxviii. 19, it is not written "*in the name*," but "*for the name*" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα)—that is, "for the *manifestation*, or *acknowledgment*" (*Cf.* Matt. x. 41.) According to all that is recorded in the New Testament, God, the Creator, is to be acknowledged as the Father (Matt. v. 45); Jesus, the descendant of David, as the Son (Matt. xvi. 16); and the Holy Spirit, as the new Divine gift and power, coming to men from the Father, through the Son (Matt. iii. 11; John i. 33; Acts ii. 33).

former name is simply Divine, while that of the latter is Human and Divine. "The Son of God" and "the Saviour Christ" are often *official* designations in creeds and liturgies; and the statements which, when taken of an *individual* person, are unintelligible and self-contradictory, are instructive and important when understood of one *official* person. What is done by a Government is done by some department; but what is done by one department is not done by another. In common language the same name is used sometimes for a soul and body united, and at other times for either alone. So the creeds combine statements which belong to "the Son of God," who is "God and Man," with statements that belong only to the "perfect God," or to the "perfect Man." *

IV.—Figurative Personality.

1. Besides the Individual, the Social, and the Official Persons, the *Figurative* Person is to be found in all languages, in prose as well as in poetry. Personification is one of the most common figures of speech, and is seldom misunderstood. Heaven and earth, the seasons of the year, peace and war, virtue and vice, life and death, are often spoken of as *persons;* the meaning to be expressed being given more clearly and forcibly in this way than in literal language. Wisdom has been personified from the earliest times. "Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding? The Depth saith, Not in me; and the Sea saith, Not with me" (Job xxviii. 12). "Wisdom crieth

* The Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, have the highest ecclesiastical authority. In them the Person of the "Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God," is declared to be composite, "God and Man"—"perfect God and perfect Man"—"of the *same essence* with God, as to the Godhead; and of the *same essence* with us men, as to the Manhood" (ὁμοούσιος). This union is declared to be "without confusion, or change, or division, or separation." Such statements are intelligible, true, and important of one kind of personality, but not of another.

without. She uttereth her voice in the streets" (Prov. i. 20). "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out seven pillars" (*Ib.* ix. 1). In the New Testament, Wisdom and Love, Righteousness and Sin, Law and Scripture, are often referred to us as Persons.

2. Figures of speech have been always much used in the language and literature of Religion. Many statements in the Bible respecting God are figurative. Some truths can be stated in no other way; and all are thus expressed most concisely and impressively. The language of the early Christian Fathers is often figurative, and is misunderstood when taken literally, as it sometimes is. Justin Martyr often describes the Divine Logos as the Son of God, the first-begotten of the Father. He says "God begat in the beginning before all creatures a certain rational power from himself" (*δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν*). He states that as the Divine Logos—the Reason or Word—is begotten of God, so a human Logos is begotten of men, without any separation or diminution (2 *Apol.* 6; *Dial.* 61). As the human *reason* could be only figuratively called a *son* of man, so it must be with the Divine Logos.

Tertullian, the earliest writer on the Trinity, states that the name Son, when applied to God by teachers and philosophers, was misunderstood by people in general, "the simple-minded, who always constitute the majority of believers." They thought it inconsistent with the "unity of God," and contrary to "their rule of faith" (Adv. Praxean, 3). That Jesus Christ should be called the Son of God could never offend or surprise any Christian: nor require any other justification than the testimony of Scripture. But it was not so with the Logos—the Word who is God—to whom the name Son was given by Tertullian and some other writers. In reply to those whom he describes as "the majority of believers," Tertullian first states the doctrine respecting the Logos, and then justifies the application of the

title Son. He says that the Logos existed eternally as Reason, and became the Word (*sermo*) when the world was created. "God is *rational*, and Reason was first in him." "God had not the Word from the beginning, but he had Reason" (c. 5). Of the creation he says, "This is the perfect nativity of the Word"; and afterwards "I claim for it the name of Son" (c. 7). Therefore, the name Son was given to the Logos—the Wisdom and Word of God. "We declare that the Son is a putting forth from the Father, without being separated from him. For God sent forth the Word . . . as the root puts forth the tree, and the fountain the river, and the sun the ray." He then adds, "I should not hesitate to call the tree the *son*, or offspring of the root, and the river of the fountain, and the ray of the sun; because every original source is a *parent*, and everything which issues from the origin is an *offspring*. Much more is the Word of God" (c. 8). The "much more" shows that more belongs to the Word than to the analogous objects mentioned; but these are sufficient to justify the application of the name Son to the Logos. Reason is called the Son of God, because God must have Reason. With the same propriety, human *reason* may be called a *son*, and human *speech* also.*

3. The same figurative use of the name Son appears in other writers of the same age. Athenagoras says. that the Son of God is the *mind* and *reason* of the Father (*νοῦς καὶ λόγος*). Replying to the question, "What is the

* We are not concerned with the correctness or consistency of Tertullian's views, but only with his explanation of the term Son, and his testimony to the way in which its application to the Logos was regarded by the majority. The Deity of the Logos was acknowledged by all, but the Sonship was a novelty, to which many objected. Tertullian and Origen gave the name Son to the Logos, but both state that this was not a Jewish usage. The Alexandrian theologians adopted some of the terms and opinions of Philo, who followed Plato and the philosophers, as much as Moses and the prophets. He called the Logos the elder Son of God, and the Cosmos the younger Son. This is certainly very different from the language of the Bible, which states that men "become sons of God" (Matt. v. 45; John i. 12).

meaning of the Son?" he adds, "He is the first offspring of the Father, not as coming into being, for from the beginning God, being eternal Mind (νοῦς), had in himself Reason (λόγος), being eternally rational" (λογίκος). *Apol.* 10.

Irenæus speaks of the *Father*, the *Word*, and *Wisdom*, as the three persons of the Trinity, the Word being the Son. "There is one God, who by the Word and Wisdom created and arranged all things" (*Adv. Haeres*, iv. 20). Dr. Burton states of Irenæus, and other writers of the second century, that they inferred the *Deity* of the Son simply from the relation of *sonship*. It was to them a self-evident truth that, "What is begotten of God is God" (*Testimony of Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 75). No such inference could possibly be drawn from the use of the name Son in the Bible. The sonship there mentioned implies diversity, and not identity. All the sons of God are said to be "begotten of Him"; and no Son is ever identified with God. But as a man's *reason* is said to be the *man*, so the Reason of God is said to be God. He cannot be thought of as existing without Reason—without the Logos; and from the relation of the Logos to God, *identity* is properly inferred. But though this relation was called sonship by the Fathers, it is never so-called in the Bible; nor is the Logos ever called the Son of God.*

Origen wrote and argued in the same way, calling Wisdom the Son of God; and proving that this Son must be eternal, since God could never be without wisdom. He identified the Word and Wisdom, and taught that all rational beings derive their reason from the Logos, the Supreme Wisdom (*De Prin*, i. 2). It is plain that these writers, in giving the name Son to Wisdom and the Word, employed it *figuratively*,

* A few expressions in S. Paul's epistles have been supposed to identify the Son with the Logos; but the preposition διὰ denotes *because* as well as *by means*, and the former meaning alone agrees with the context and all parallel passages (*Cf.* Robinson, Wahl, Grimm, Winer).

to express the relation of Intelligence to God. The personification is sometimes masculine, and sometimes feminine, but both represent the same object. The name Son was certainly not given to the Logos, because given to Jesus Christ: nor is He called the Son, because this name was given to the Logos. The only passage in the Bible which appears to identify the Word and the Son is now universally rejected, as giving the phraseology of later ages (1 John v. 7).

4. There are other figures of speech connected with Personality. Apostrophe is common in prose and poetry, being the natural expression of any strong feeling, and conducing to the excitement and increase of affection. Persons, who are not supposed to be present, are addressed as if they were, and such language is seldom misunderstood.*

Synecdoche is another common figure, a *part* being put for the *whole*, as the "sail" for the "ship." Attributes are named when agents are meant, some quality being referred to especially, but not exclusively, nor with any kind of distinct personality. Genius, Skill, Learning, are said to do what is done by the persons who have these qualities. Such expressions as "the right hand of the Power," or "the Majesty" (Matt. xxvi. 64, Heb. i. 3) do not give to power and majesty any personality, but refer only

* When Jesus is addressed as the Son of David, whose life and death are recorded in the Gospels, there is an apostrophe. But when he is identified with the Word, or the Spirit, by whom all things were made, there is simply the worship of God under another name. This worship is reasonable and scriptural, whether the interpretation of Scripture from which it has arisen be correct or not. The transfer of names may have been originally a metaphor or metonomy, but in the present use there is no figure. The Christ who is the object of prayer and praise, as present in all times and places, is not the man Jesus, but the Word or Spirit who is God. The statement of the prologue of S. John (i. 14) that the glory of the Word is *as* the glory of the Son, seems to identify the Word with the Father and not with the Son, for the Word and the Father are unquestionably two names of God (i. 1, 18). The glory of God is beheld in the person of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. iv. 6; John xi. 4, 40, xii. 45). The personal influence which He exerted while living on earth was increased and extended indefinitely when He ascended to heaven. He is truly said to give the light and strength, purity and peace, the joy unspeakable, which come now with the remembrance of Him to all who trust Him as their living Lord and Saviour.

to that of God; and when the "Wisdom of God" is said to speak, no second *person* is supposed (Luke xi. 49). Many terms, as Spirit, Wisdom, Word, Power, are used by ancient and modern writers in various ways; and it is not always easy to determine whether they are employed literally or figuratively, and which of several meanings is intended. Many serious errors have come from the *logical* treatment of *rhetorical* expressions; and from the assumption that words and phrases have always the same meaning.

5. In science, history, and common discourse, the same *object* often receives different *names*, while the same *name* is often given to different *objects*. Many mistakes naturally result from the ambiguity of language, and these cannot always be avoided. It is therefore not surprising, that the wisest and best should fall into some inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Contradictions and absurdities necessarily arise, if the various senses of the term Person are not distinguished. The best religious language is often *figurative*, and its use is not restricted to one form of explanation. There is and must be mystery everywhere, but what is really useful and important is not hopelessly concealed. Revelation is given to increase the light, not the darkness. Contrary propositions cannot both be true, and words without any meaning can have no religious use. Light shines on men, that they may walk in light, think and speak as children of Light.

J. H. GODWIN.

HOW TO ENJOY SHAKESPEARE.

WHEN visiting a poor woman, I once had occasion to request her to take special care of a certain paper. "Oh, yes," she replied, "I'll put it in the Bible; nobody will touch it there." There are many English homes containing handsomely bound editions of Shakespeare where the volumes are never taken from the shelf from year's end to year's end, and would form quite as safe a hiding-place for any document that must not be lost. Even when societies are specially formed for reading Shakespeare, it may be questioned whether the members do not chiefly value the social intercourse, and enjoy themselves more than they enjoy Shakespeare.

On the stage we certainly have had recently some magnificent Shakespearian revivals; but here, again, what people have enjoyed has been, not Shakespeare, but the mounting and acting of the piece. In Shakespeare's own time, a blind man could have enjoyed the performance of a play; now the ears have an easy time of it, being chiefly used to catch the jokes, and eyes and opera glasses are kept hard at work taking up all the attention, and filling the mind with reports of what is seen rather than what is heard. Consequently, in producing, say, *Hamlet* or *The Merchant of Venice*, exclusive prominence is given to stage and scenic effects, and mere words, though they be words which strike the very key-note of the play, have a bad time of it. Again and again, lines, and even whole scenes, which contain the very pith and marrow of the author's meaning, the point to which all else has been leading up, are ruthlessly omitted, or condensed into unmeaning "gag." This is not representing Shake-

speare, but using him as a kind of quarry out of which to hew "taking situations," and "good business" for a popular actress or an actor whom it is the fashion to go and see.

Shakespeare wrote for the ear rather than for the eye, so that it is possible to enjoy his works in the study quite as much as on the stage, and the object of this paper is to show how this may be done.

Professor Morley is giving us a new opportunity for which he cannot be too warmly thanked. In the handy little threepenny series of "Cassell's National Library," he is issuing from time to time one of Shakespeare's plays with an introduction which tells the reader all that should be known before the play is read, with a revised text representing his own judgment after careful collation, and generally with an appendix containing the principal sources from which the story of the play is derived.*

The first thing he shows us is that to enjoy Shakespeare we must study him, for without study we cannot understand him. Many will reply, we have no time to study anything; when we have done our day's work we only want to be amused. In answer to this it may be said: There *is* a royal road to the right understanding of Shakespeare, or any other master in literature. If you have no time to be an original student yourself, you can avail yourself of the labour of those who are students. Not that you are likely to reap much enjoyment from the voluminous commentaries of learned Dry-as-dusts, who discuss at interminable length the things that do not matter, and never tell us, or at least never arrange in true perspective, the things of real importance. But valuable results often accrue from microscopic inquiries and tedious controversy; and it is these results, not the processes by which they are attained, which, when laid

* Already issued are *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *As You Like It*, and others will follow, it is hoped, at the rate of four or five in the year.

before the ordinary reader, will help him marvellously to enjoy Shakespeare.

A good picture looks best in a handsome frame, and to appreciate good literature we should see it framed in the circumstances in which it was written; we should know the main facts about the life of its author, and the conditions under which he did his work. We know singularly little about the life of Shakespeare; but the little we do know, when carefully distinguished from idle legends, is full of interest and instruction. We know nothing about him till 1582 except that he was born in 1564. But we know something of his father and mother, how the latter was a capable descendant of a race of yeomen who had long inhabited the county, some occupying high position; how she brought as her dowry an ancestral estate, which came to be mortgaged and then lost; we know how the father was at first a prosperous tradesman, who rose to be head alderman or mayor of Stratford in 1571, but apparently signed with his mark, how he was getting into pecuniary difficulties in 1578 was arrested for debt and deprived of his alderman's gown in 1586, and in 1592 was still afraid of being arrested for debt if he came to church. These facts help us to understand what it means when, in 1596, we find Shakespeare taking out a coat of arms for his father, and the next year trying to recover his mother's ancestral property, and buying the best house in Stratford. In running over the list of English dramatists, it is difficult to find another who showed the same honourable independence in earning money, and the same wisdom and virtue in spending it. There is no difficulty in picturing the temptations that beset the path of the dramatist; it is interesting to know some of the motives which helped Shakespeare to resist those temptations. He had, however, another motive of at least equal force. We know nothing of his boyhood, and can only guess that he went to the public school at Stratford, and feel sure that he

did *not* have a University training. But we know that in November, 1582, when he was eighteen and a-half years old, he married Anne Hathaway, aged twenty-six, who was the daughter of a very old friend of his father. There are no grounds for supposing it was an unhappy marriage; but when his wife had presented him, first with a daughter, Susannah, and next, in 1585, with twins, Hamnet and Judith (named after friends, a baker and his wife), and when his father was sinking deeper and deeper into financial difficulties, Shakespeare resolved to leave Stratford for a time and seek his fortune in London. More than one company of strolling players had lately visited the Warwickshire town, once while his father was mayor; Kenilworth, seat of Leicester, the chief patron of the players, was not many miles distant, and Shakespeare was already eleven years old when Queen Elizabeth paid her famous visit to the castle. Shakespeare knew what he wanted to do when, about 1586, he came up to London, and joined the principal company of actors. He came up, poor and unknown, to a city never wholly free from the plague, and this is reason sufficient why he left his wife and babes among friends and kindred at Stratford, especially as he evidently regarded that town as his home, and kept steadily in view his purpose of making there a family seat. In 1589, three years after he came up, he was one of sixteen shareholders of the Blackfriars Theatre. In 1592, a posthumous work, by Robert Greene, a penitent dying dramatist, was published, entitled "A Groat's Worth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance." In it occurs this sentence: "There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers that, with his tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide [parody on "Oh, tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" (*Henry VI.* III. i. 4)], supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you, and being an absolute Johannes Factotum, is, in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country." This shows us that, after six years of

apprenticeship, during which he made himself generally useful as actor and adaptor of old plays, Shakespeare was coming well to the front as a leading dramatist. These words of sickly envy are, moreover, the only bitter words ever known to have been spoken of him during his life—a fact, again, which should be looked at in the light of the constant squabbles among the other writers of this and later periods. The pamphlet was published by Henry Chettle, who took the earliest opportunity for expressing his regret for even this small attack on one who was distinguished for his "uprightness of dealing" as well as his "facetious grace," and for being "no less civil than excellent."

Another six years brings us to 1598, when a book, published by Francis Meres, shows Shakespeare standing pre-eminent and unrivalled, and gives us a list of his principal productions down to that time. These include *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and "his sugared *sonnets*, among his private friends," [*Two*] *Gentlemen of Verona*, [*Comedy of*] *Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Love's Labour's Won* [perhaps the same as *All's Well That Ends Well*], *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II.*, *Richard III.*, *Henry IV.*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. It was the production of these plays which enabled him to make those significant purchases at Stratford; and from this time we may imagine him living a good part of the year at his county home, writing about two plays every year, and these plays his maturest works, ceasing to write about 1611, dying in 1616, aged only fifty-two, and leaving a will which shows the strongest desire, but one not destined to be realised, to found a county family.

We should next notice the spirit of the age when Shakespeare came to London, in 1586. It was an age of intense earnestness and an age of organic growth, when the results of much long and silent work came to light and power. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in

1453, let loose a flood of classic literature upon Western Europe, and caused the Renaissance—the new birth of intellectual life after the dismal sleep of the Dark Ages. From this new birth sprang the Reformation, stirring men's hopes and fears, their courage and their cruelty; exciting their interests and passions to a degree now hardly conceivable. On the top of this came great geographical discoveries; the voyage of Columbus in 1492 and the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, led to further travels and descriptions of travel, which stimulated men's minds, much as the discovery of the way to reach another planet would excite our interest to-day. The invention of printing popularised all knowledge; the translation of the Bible was, in many respects, like the founding of a new religion; and, coming back to England alone and the precise date of which we speak, let us remember that 1588 was the year of the Spanish Armada. Let us try to mentally recall the national spirit with which that invasion was met, and the consciousness of triumph, under Divine protection, which remained for many years a proud national possession. The later years of Elizabeth and the earlier years of James I. are so brilliant a period of our literature, because they show the fruition of so much that had been felt and thought and said and done before. It was an age of great thoughts and intense feeling, of splendid deeds and noble speech.

Shakespeare is the foremost representative of this period, *because he shared and represents its earnestness;* and yet this is what no critic has adequately noticed till Professor Morley showed us where to look for it and how to find it.

Sad rubbish has been written about Shakespeare's religion, because people will not understand that he is a dramatist, and puts sentiments in the mouths of his characters which he considers appropriate to those characters, and that he does not adopt as his own all the opinions expressed in his plays. There is no doubt that he professed adherence to the

national reformed Church of England. And there need be no more doubt to those who read with open eyes, that his personal religion may be summed up in these three maxims: Fear God,* Love your neighbour, Do your work. It is not that he puts these maxims into the mouths of any of his characters, but that he teaches them in all his plays. He shared the earnestness of his time; he was not content to write simply to amuse; he wished "to teach as well as to delight," and to teach a definite religious lesson—religious, not theological. But, as a great artist, he used art to conceal art; he had that genius which includes an immense capacity for taking pains; and we, too, must take some pains if we would even follow where he has led. We cannot properly enjoy Shakespeare in any idle moment when we are tired and want only to be amused. We cannot appreciate a play by reading a little bit at a time; it is all linked together, and we cannot understand one part without knowing all the rest. The critical points are all carefully led up to by indications which prepare the mind for the most startling catastrophes, and cause us to feel that what happens is exactly what we might expect, the natural consequence of the causes that have been lightly, but clearly, shown to exist. On the other hand, it is often towards the close of a play that we are told of some fact which we ought to know before we can properly realise the character and the position of the chief actors.† When Shakespeare superintended the production of his own pieces he could take the requisite means for conveying the right ideas to the spectators; when he left the stage he did not write an introduction to each of his plays, because he knew that he had woven all needful information into the imperish-

* Professor Morley says, Love God. I venture with diffidence to suggest that it is rather the Hebrew "fear" than the Christian "love" of God which Shakespeare teaches. It is certainly no slavish dread, but a reverential awe, as taught in the saying: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.

† For instance, we learn Hamlet's age in Act V. Sc. 1, and, as we shall see, to understand the lesson of the play we must know this from the first.

able structure of the play itself; but now we want some such introduction, and must either compile it for ourselves after repeated reading of the play, or avail ourselves of an introduction written by some competent student.

But this is very far from all that we require before we are fit to enjoy Shakespeare. When the Slade Fine Art School was opened in London by Professor Poynter, he insisted on students copying models which are not the most perfect forms if they were to appreciate those models which have come down from antiquity as the most perfect ever designed. In the same way, in order to appreciate the master-pieces of dramatic literature, we ought to have some knowledge of inferior dramas, and this may be attained in a doubly interesting way by tracing the gradual rise of the English drama to its culminating point at the commencement of the seventeenth century. A sort of prelude to this history is furnished by the striking story of the Miracle Plays, which began inside the churches of Christendom, and in the fifteenth century underwent a marvellous development in the hands of the earnest, religious-minded English laity. Their aim was to put a living Bible in the streets at a time when the Bible existed only in a foreign tongue; and it was the translation and printing of the Bible in English which deprived these Miracle Plays of their *raison d'être* and caused them to fall into disuse. But they were never true plays in the proper sense. The whole series, beginning with the Fall of Lucifer and ending with Doomsday, might fairly be described as one long drama in thirty or forty acts. Their chief interest in connection with our present subject is the testimony they bear to the strength of the dramatic instinct, the love of acting and seeing acting, which is found in every nursery and lasts with most of us through the whole of life, and which, under the guidance of religion and in the hands of earnest men, may be the most powerful instrument ever given us to teach the masses of mankind to fear God, to love their neighbours, and to do their work.

A play Professor Morley defines as "the story of one human action shown throughout by the imagined words and deeds of the persons concerned in it, artfully developing a problem of human life, and ingeniously solving it, after having excited strong natural interest and curiosity as to the manner of solution. It must not be too long to be presented to spectators at a single sitting." So defined, our English drama takes its origin not from miracle or mystery plays, moralities, or interludes, but from the English Universities and the study there of the ancient dramas of Greece and Rome. English plays began when University men, well acquainted with Terence, Plautus, and Seneca, began to write plays in English. The first English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*, was written about 1550 by the head master of Eton, to be acted by his boys. The first English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, was written in 1561, by two students of the Inner Temple, to be acted as part of the Christmas festivities. Both plays have worthy aims. The former, the comedy, absolutely avoiding all indecency or coarseness, attempts most successfully to provoke genial, happy laughter, and to amusingly teach a lesson of some value to Eton boys, viz., not to trust to wealth or social position to save them from being made and becoming very foolish fools. The latter, the tragedy, seeks still more directly to enforce a lesson England especially required just then to learn—the need of union at home against enemies abroad. The year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth the Spanish Ambassador writes: "It is the devil's own business here. But the Catholics grow stronger daily, and the heretics are quarrelling with one another so bitterly that they have forgotten their other enemies." *Gorboduc* is the first of many plays which sought to impress the overwhelming importance of national unity, and succeeded in rousing the spirit which appeared in 1588. From these two beginnings the Elizabethan drama grew with marvellous force and vigour. Trained actors had long

existed, but had had nothing better to perform than interludes. The Queen was insatiable in her love of the stage* and her courtiers vied eagerly with one another to gratify her taste. No less insatiable was the popular craving, proved by the crowded inn-yards, where the pieces were generally performed. Restrictions imposed by the Puritan City of London resulted in the first theatre being opened just outside the liberties, in the fashionable precincts of Blackfriars. This was in 1576, when Shakespeare was a boy of twelve. Sunday performances were a grievous scandal to Puritan feeling till 1583, when several persons having been killed on a Sunday by the fall of a rotten gallery, an order of the Privy Council prohibited all public performances on that day. So we may trace the rapid rise of the English drama till it reaches its culminating point previous to Shakespeare in the sonorous blank verse and ambitious designs of Christopher Marlowe. His death, in 1593, left Shakespeare in undisputed sovereignty, with what outward results we have already seen.

When Shakespeare undertook to write a play, his first requirement was to find an interesting story. He did not consider it his business to invent one ; and he often took his main facts from an earlier play. It is, therefore, a most instructive study to compare his finished work with the materials he used. This we can do admirably in the case of *King John*. And let us note in passing what a splendid source for dramatic teaching was found in English history. Just as the Hebrew Prophets and Psalmists are constantly inculcating the lessons of their own Hebrew history, so our early English Dramatists, and very few besides them, have tried to teach the lessons of our national life. Soon after Edward VI. came to the throne (1547) a play appeared on King John, the greater part written by Bishop Bale, all

* An accident in the hall of Christchurch, Oxford, by which three persons were killed, caused no postponement of the performance of a play before Her Majesty.

breathing the spirit of Protestant defiance of the Pope and all his works. The King is a noble-hearted Reformer, determined to do his duty to his people, and is in consequence excommunicated by the Pope. It is purely didactic, with no attempt to represent or keep to facts. In 1591 was printed *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, a play which does attempt to give a narrative of facts, but is little more than a long, rambling, inartistic, but often vigorously written chronicle. This work, in two feebly connected parts, Shakespeare turned into his play, and we have a grand opportunity of examining what he left out and what he put in, and seeing how and why he did so. There is no better method for studying Shakespeare, and learning to understand and enjoy his work. He leaves out what he considers irrelevant to his main purpose and harmful to the unity of the play, such as a strong scene at the beginning between the Bastard and his mother, and, later on, an amusing misunderstanding between an abbot and a monk. Still more characteristic is his omission of a bitter attack on the friars and the whole monastic system,* and he also omits a penitential lament of the King over his past life, evidently regarding this as inconsistent with his character. As for his additions, he makes the action rapid, intelligible, exciting; he creates the characters, and gives them their respective parts. His most striking addition is in the witty, vigorous character of the Bastard, to whom he assigns the office of telling the audience, somewhat after the fashion of a Greek Chorus, what is the central thought which gives unity to the play, and conveys its lesson. We find this at the close of the first Act, in the speech about "tickling commoditie," or what we call expediency. The whole play exhibits the folly and sin of doing what seems most expedient, most for our selfish interests for the time being, and gives a solemn warning to fear God.

* Shakespeare's mother's family were devoted Catholics, but the determination not to confound the abuses of a system with the system itself is a trait of his own large-heartedness.

But Shakespeare did not teach the fear of God as a pedagogue, still less did he identify it with the fear of hell. Compare the scenes in the two plays that give the interview between Arthur and Hubert. In the earlier play Arthur does not speak as a boy; he says what a man might say on his behalf, and it comes to little more than threatening Hubert with Divine vengeance on his crime. Shakespeare makes Arthur a real boy, pleading as a royal, tender-hearted boy would naturally plead for his eyes, and appealing not to Divine vengeance, but to the natural affection which he knows must exist somewhere in his gaoler's heart. Now, we are not worthy to understand Shakespeare's religion unless we see that his treatment of this episode is not less, but more, religious than that of the older play—more religious because more true to human nature. Instead of putting an exhortation to fear God into the mouth of a child, Shakespeare's whole play teaches the lesson: the counsels of expediency never lead to permanent success; England's safety and hope of peace and happiness lie in her walking in the path of national unity and righteousness.

The same great lesson, "Fear God," is taught in the tragedy of *Macbeth*. In Holinshed's History of Scotland Shakespeare found an account of a man who committed a murder in order to seize the throne; who then reigned for many years, a fairly good king; but who, towards the end of his reign, committed many cruel crimes. Shakespeare saw here material for a play on the gradual deterioration of moral character, the steady sinking lower and lower into the depths of degradation and infamy, which is the natural consequence of one great sin, committed and unrepented of. As usual, when the play is acted now, the chief point is missed owing to the omission of the scene between Hecate and the witches, and the general impression that the witches are slightly comic characters. But the climax is reached in the murder of Lady Macduff and her children, not for the sake of any supposed

gain, but simply and solely in the fiendish spirit of love of evil for its own sake. This is what Hecate desires, and succeeds in obtaining. The fifth Act shows the final ruin of the two virtues which had long been the only sound spots in Macbeth's nature. His love for his wife had been very real, but the miserable cynicism with which he receives the news of her death shows how that had gone ; and the physical courage, the very basis of his character, emphasized most strongly at the beginning of the play, and again brought out at the beginning of the last Act, even that completely goes when he learns of Macduff's untimely birth ; and while young Siward dies a soldier's death with his hurts on the front, Macbeth dies a coward.

The character of Lady Macbeth is entirely Shakespeare's own creation, and has been much misunderstood owing to the magnificent *physique* of the great actresses who have played the part. Lady Macbeth is a pretty little woman, clinging and affectionate, desirous only of helping her husband do what *he* wants to do. She brings out vividly the points of his character and career. Where he is strong, physically, she is weak ; she needs wine to make her bold ; she really faints when the murder is discovered ; in her sleep-walking she betrays the dread secret. But she is mentally strong, where he is weak ; she sees no unreal phantoms ; she knows the difference between the shriek of the owl and a human cry ; till she sleeps or faints she has all her wits about her. When nothing but a shadowy fear of consequences restrains Macbeth from his first crime ; when it is nothing but mental weakness, and what we may call moral as opposed to physical cowardice which keeps him back ; when it is clearly no sense of duty and honour, but only want of resolution that stays his hand, then she comes with the taunt a woman can so well give, and such a man so well deserves, and screws his courage to the sticking-place. But after this, unlike Macbeth, she is responsible for no further

crime; she merely lives a life of weariness and misery, part of the misery arising from the popular execration which called her a "fiend-like queen," an utterly untrue description, but one given of her very naturally by the people.

Banquo, again, Shakespeare has turned from an accomplice into a foil, in accordance with his usual way of emphasizing the important points of character. We need not dwell upon the marvellous rapidity, vigour, and unity of the action in the play, albeit spread over a course of some twenty years. But we may notice that here as elsewhere when Shakespeare introduces the supernatural, he does not introduce the unnatural. The function of the witches, real emissaries of a real Prince of Evil, is to accentuate the temptation that has already risen out of the desires that exist in Macbeth's own heart. And I believe this will be found to be the case whenever Shakespeare introduces a supernatural element into his plays. He never creates anything unreal, only intensifies and quickens what is real, a *vera causa.* Thus in *Hamlet*, the Ghost merely intensifies and quickens the suspicions which already most naturally exist in Hamlet's mind. The Ghost does nothing more, does not give any miraculous certainty of proof, the player-scene is still required as a test; for like more modern spirits, the Ghost may be a lying spirit; this loophole is always left. So in *The Tempest*, the forces that do the great work of *producing* repentance and reconciliation are perfectly natural forces, and the whole machinery controlled by Ariel is employed for no other purpose than to confine the compass of the play within the arbitrary limit of three hours, which pedants called the unity of time. *The Tempest* is the only play in which Shakespeare observes this unity of time. He seems to have resolved that in what was perhaps his last play, he would give the critics what they had long clamoured for, but would prevent it being unnatural by introducing a supernatural power to intensify and quicken the action of natural causes.

The Tempest is one of many plays in which Shakespeare teaches the lesson, Love your neighbour, even love your enemy, and believe that it is possible to overcome evil with good. Even when you have been badly treated, that is no reason for being either sulky or revengeful; when your enemy is at last in your power, that is the time to let your love conquer his hate, and you win a real victory only when you turn his hate into love. This is Shakespeare's religion, as it is also Christ's.*

In conclusion, let us glance at *Hamlet* as an example of Shakespeare's third great lesson:—Do your work, do your duty, recognise the harm that comes from irresolution and indecision, do what on careful consideration seems to you the best thing to be done, and do it in the faith "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." This play will never be understood till we understand that Hamlet is not a hero. A great actor does so like to represent himself as a hero; it is difficult to avoid this; but nothing is more certain than that Shakespeare meant Hamlet's conduct to be a warning of what should be avoided, not an example of what should be done. On the death of his father, Hamlet, now thirty years old, ought to have succeeded to his throne, and inquired into the suspicious circumstances connected with his father's death. Instead of this, he purposes to remain a student at Wittenberg. Instead of rejoicing in any opportunity to do good when the times are out of joint, he exclaims, "Oh, cursed spite, that ever I was born to set them right." He knows that he ought to act boldly and decisively, but he keeps satisfying himself with the adoption of half-hearted expedients that turn out useless and cruel. It has been maintained by critics that Hamlet was really mad (in flat contradiction to what Shakespeare says), because that is the only way of excusing

* For the illustration of this same lesson, more fully developed, see Professor Morley's article on *As You Like It* in THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER, May, 1886.

his atrocious conduct towards Ophelia. But Shakespeare did not mean his conduct to be excusable. All the grace and charm of Ophelia are Shakespeare's own addition; in the old story she is simply a low woman sent to worm out Hamlet's secret; but in so elevating her character, and still letting Hamlet treat her so badly as to drive her out of her mind and cause her to commit suicide, Shakespeare certainly meant to enforce the great lesson of the play, the harm of indecision. The foil to Hamlet is Fortinbras, who consequently should not be totally ignored when the play is acted, in spite of the eager desire to cut down everything that does not increase the glory of the leading actor and actress. Laertes, too, back from Paris like lightning, and thundering at the palace doors with an armed mob behind him, so soon as he hears of *his* father's death, is another foil to Hamlet. Hamlet can feign well, and he can talk wonderfully, and does talk most surprisingly to his mother; but whenever he acts, it is on rash and ill-considered impulse, as when he kills Polonius. He never seriously, earnestly, prayerfully considers what to do and then goes and does it with determination and perseverance. This irresolution is always fatal. One wonders what in the world would have happened next if they had not all killed one another in the last scene. The whole catastrophe is Shakespeare's own; the old story makes Hamlet ascend the throne and reign for some years. Shakespeare alters all this, and gives the crown of Denmark to the Prince of Norway, in order to teach the lesson, Do your work.

With this I must conclude the present paper, conscious that I have done nothing but throw out a few hints how to enjoy Shakespeare. For this we must understand him; to understand him we must study him, and study him so as to specially attend to those eternal truths which constitute the very heart of all his work.

H. SHAEN SOLLY.

"*NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.*"

PART I.—EXPOSITORY.

IT is not intended, in the present paper, to deal exhaustively with Professor Henry Drummond's book as a whole, but mainly to estimate the validity of his argument in regard to his conception of "Nature *in* the Supernatural" and the natural man. For on the argumentative sufficiency of his central position as described in the Introduction depends the scientific value of the volume as a contribution towards a reconstructed Theology. If this position is demonstrable, Mr. Drummond has succeeded in his main contention, notwithstanding occasional incoherencies in the exposition and application of his argument: but, on the other hand, if it is not demonstrable, then, whatever literary or homiletical merits his book may exhibit, he has failed to establish the fundamental claim of his "Natural Law in the Spiritual World"—the reconstruction of the spiritual realm from the standpoint of the physical plane, and along the lines of "Natural Law."

Fair and lucid discussion seems to require that an adequate exposition should precede the criticism of Mr. Drummond's argument; accordingly in the first part of this paper we shall confine ourselves to exposition, and in the second we shall proceed to criticism of the central position of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World."

In a Preface, at once ingenuous and ingenious, Professor Drummond describes the genesis and growth in his own mind of the idea which, he says, effected for him the reconstruction of the Spiritual World. For some years he had been in the habit of "addressing regularly two very different audiences on two very different themes." "On weekdays," he tells us, "I have lectured to a class of students on the Natural Sciences, and on Sundays to an audience con-

sisting for the most part of working-men on subjects of a moral and religious character. I cannot say that this collocation ever appeared as a difficulty to myself, but to certain of my friends it was more than a problem." Mr. Drummond escaped the difficulty by keeping, as the necessities of the case seemed to require, "the two departments entirely by themselves." Only for a time, however, did he succeed in maintaining this separation. "Gradually," so his own words describe the great change, "the wall of partition showed symptoms of giving way. The two fountains of knowledge also slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled. The great change was in the compartment which held the Religion. . . . The crystals of former doctrine were dissolved; and as they precipitated themselves once more in definite forms, I observed that the Crystalline System was changed. New channels, also, for outward expression opened, and some of the old closed up; and I found the truth running out to my audience on the Sundays by the week-day outlets. In other words, the subject-matter, Religion, had taken on the method of expression of Science, and I discovered myself enunciating Spiritual Law in the exact terms of Biology and Physics."

Such was the genesis, such were some of the results in Mr. Drummond's mind of the idea that, as he affirms, revolutionised his theological thinking and re-created his spiritual world. Notwithstanding some confusion of metaphors, the writer's meaning is clear enough. He asserts the rupture and removal of the barriers that separated in his ordinary thought Religion and Science; declaring not merely the reconciliation of Religion and Science, but their mutual intermingling and unity. They became inseparable, in his view, like the interfusion of meeting and mingling waters.

The real problem, therefore, with which he deals, and the key to which he believes himself to have found, is stated interrogatively thus: "Is there not reason to believe that many

of the Laws of the Spiritual World, hitherto regarded as occupying an entirely separate province, are simply the Laws of the Natural World? Can we identify the Natural Laws, or any one of them, in the Spiritual Sphere? . . . In a word, Is the Supernatural natural or unnatural?" Examples of such Natural Laws as pervade the seen and the unseen are given in the chapters on "Biogenesis," "Degeneration," "Growth," "Parasitism," "Classification." These are taken as illustrations of the "projection" of the natural and the supernatural, and are regarded as identical in their nature and effects everywhere. The whole weight of the argument rests on *identity*, not mere analogy, of Law. Mr. Drummond insists that his attitude and method are radical, revolutionary, re-constructive; consisting in more than "a scientific colouring given to Religion, the mere freshening of the theological air with natural facts and illustrations." The result was, we are told, "an entire recasting of truth. And when I came seriously to consider what it involved, I saw, or seemed to see, that it meant essentially the introduction of Natural Law into the Spiritual World."

The special significance of this introduction of Natural Law into the Spiritual World is thus seen to consist not in the acquisition of new analogies between the phenomena of the physical, or natural, and the phenomena of the spiritual spheres, but in transforming our conception of the whole spiritual world—in providing "religion with a new credential and man with a truly scientific theology."

"Natural Law in the Spiritual World," as a contribution by Professor Drummond to the still unsettled question of the relation between the physical and the supra-physical, the material and the spiritual, is arranged in two main divisions:—(1) The Introduction, in which the central position is described and affirmed, and which is professedly addressed, though "with the greatest diffidence," to the philosophical reader; and (2) the eleven chapters wherein are given

samples of the writer's method of conveying religious instruction under the phrases and formulations of Science—of letting "the truth run out to his audience on the Sundays by the week-day outlets."

As, however, the philosophical position or argument is chiefly under discussion here and now, the exposition of Mr. Drummond's hypothesis needs to be based on the Introduction only, in which that hypothesis is enunciated. In his Introduction Mr. Drummond unfolds his "case for Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and with his argument as therein drawn out must stand or fall his new gospel of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." "Natural Law," says Mr. Drummond, "is a new word . . . the reign of Law was never more to the ancients than a far-off vision." "The fundamental conception of Law," he affirms, "is an ascertained working sequence or constant order among the phenomena of Nature. This impression of Law as order it is important to receive in its simplicity, for the idea is often corrupted by having attached to it erroneous views of cause and effect. In its true sense Natural Law predicates nothing of causes. The Laws of Nature are simply statements of the orderly condition of things in Nature, what is found in Nature by a sufficient number of competent observers." It is farther explained that "what these Laws are in themselves is not agreed. That they have any absolute existence even is far from certain. They are relative to man in his many limitations, and represent for him the constant expression of what he may always expect to find in the world around him. But that they have any causal connection with the things around him is not to be conceived. The Natural Laws originate nothing, sustain nothing; . . . they are modes of operation, not operators; processes, not powers." Again, we are told that "the Natural Laws are great lines running not only through the world, but, as we now know, through the universe, reducing it like parallels of latitude to

intelligent order." But they "have no more absolute existence than parallels of latitude"; they "exist for us," and are so drawn that, understanding a part, we may in time learn to understand the whole. The question thereupon arises: "Do these lines stop with what we call the Natural sphere? Is it not possible that they may lead further?" Although the consideration of this question is necessary to the argument, it is nevertheless somewhat difficult for the reader to admit off-hand the possibility of the projection of these lines of Natural Law beyond the Natural Sphere, if Natural Laws, as Mr. Drummond asserts, "are simply statements of the orderly condition of things in Nature," and have no existence apart from the phenomena which they express in terms of Science. For if the Natural Laws and the "working sequence or constant order among the phenomena of Nature" are identical, it surely follows that whenever and wherever the "phenomena of Nature" stop, the Natural Laws must also stop.

How can the lines of the Natural Laws "project" themselves on the same level and in the same fashion into the Spiritual World, if they have no conceivable existence apart from the uniformities of natural phenomena, except on the supposition that the natural or physical sphere is projected likewise? Mr. Drummond, however, is obliged to postulate, for the purposes of his great argument, a difference between "Natural Laws" and the "orderly condition of things in Nature." "The analogies of Law," he affirms, "are a totally different thing from the analogies of Phenomena, and have a different value." He admits that the phenomena of the Natural are different from the phenomena of the Spiritual World; and in this admission there is implied a contradiction of what he has already said, that the "Natural Laws" "are simply statements of the orderly condition of things in Nature," or are identical with the "working sequence or constant order among the phenomena of Nature."

Mr. Drummond regards all previous scientific progress as tending to establish this result—the identity of Law in the worlds of Nature and of Spirit; as gradually disclosing the infirmities of a Theology which has ignored the reign and the range of Natural Law. But, in spite of the prevalent Theology, "The Reign of Law has gradually crept into every department of Nature, transforming knowledge everywhere into Science. The process goes on, and Nature slowly appears to us as one great unity, until the borders of the Spiritual World are reached. There the Law of Continuity ceases, and the harmony breaks down. And men who have learned their elementary lessons truly from the alphabet of the lower Laws, going on to seek a higher knowledge, are suddenly confronted with the Great Exception." "All are agreed," he says, "in speaking of Nature *and* the Supernatural. Nature *in* the Supernatural, so far as Laws are concerned, is still an unknown truth." This "unknown truth" expresses Mr. Drummond's fundamental position, with the validity of which is bound up the value of his contribution to man's scientific knowledge of the Spiritual World, and the construction of a scientific Theology. He proclaims the hitherto "unknown truth" in a style often vigorous and eloquent, but not always with consistency of dialectic and conclusiveness of argument. His wealth of illustrative resource helps him in not a few logical emergencies, serving not only to conceal the weakness of, but even sometimes to give an air of unanswerability to, an argument which really breaks down just where it appears to clinch itself with a brilliant illustration. But he is certainly right in affirming that Theology cannot be allowed to remain, in the view of Science, a "Great Exception"; "for Science can hear nothing of a great exception. . . . It is the province of Science to vindicate Nature here at any hazard." And Mr. Drummond goes on to say that "if there is any truth in the unity of Nature, in that supreme principle of Continuity which is growing in splendour with every dis-

covery of Science, the conclusion is foregone. If there is any foundation for Theology, if the phenomena of the Spiritual World are real, in the nature of things they ought to come into the sphere of Law. Such is at once the demand of Science upon Religion, and the prophecy that it can and shall be fulfilled."

Mr. Drummond, however, deems it necessary to safeguard himself here somewhat, lest he should seem to be exciting in behalf of the scientific method unlimited expectations. "It is not of course to be inferred," he protests, "that the scientific method will ever abolish the radical distinctions of the Spiritual World. True science proposes no such general levelling in any department. Within the unity of the whole there must always be room for characteristic differences of the parts. . . . Science will be complete when all known phenomena can be arranged in one vast circle in which a few well-known Laws shall form the radii—those radii at once separating and uniting, separating into particular groups, yet uniting all to a common centre." Mr. Drummond aims at demonstrating "that the radii for some of the most characteristic phenomena of the Spiritual World are already drawn within that circle by Science"; or, as it is otherwise expressed, he endeavours "to restate a few of the more elementary facts of the Spiritual Life in terms of Biology." He does not propose to prove the existence of the Spiritual World; but, assuming it to exist as Science assumes the existence of a physical world, to convince earnest seekers after Truth that the Spiritual World is "a fair ordered realm furnished with many familiar things and ruled by well-remembered Laws." Mr. Drummond is conclusively right, and helps to further the interests of a true Theology, when he affirms that "we must exhibit our doctrines, not lying athwart the lines of the world's thinking, in a place reserved, and therefore shunned, for the Great Exception; but in their kinship to all truth and in their Law-relation to the whole of Nature."

In Part II. of his Introduction, Mr. Drummond describes and applies in a general way the Law of Continuity, emphasizing the fact of its immense importance in relation to the subject of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." The Law of Continuity furnishes, he thinks, an *à priori* argument in support of his position. "There are very convincing reasons," he says, "why the Natural Laws should be continuous through the Spiritual Sphere—not changed in any way, . . but continuous as they stand." It is said that "one of the most striking generalisations of recent science is that even Laws have their Law." This is regarded as necessary to the completion of the System of Nature; for as there is a Law among phenomena, so there is a Law among laws. "Laws themselves," we are told, "accordingly came to be treated as they treated phenomena, and found themselves grouped in a still narrower circle. That inmost circle is governed by one great Law, the Law of Continuity. It is the Law for laws." This Law of Continuity is described as the assurance that Laws are continuous throughout the whole system. It is the guarantee that man, in trusting to Nature, shall never be put to intellectual confusion; it expresses "the Divine veracity in Nature." Mr. Drummond's argument from the Law of Continuity is thus summed up in a sentence: "As the Natural Laws are continuous through the universe of matter and of space, so will they be continuous through the universe of Spirit." "At the beginning of the natural life," for instance, he argues, "we find the Law that natural life can only come from pre-existing natural life; and at the beginning of the spiritual life we find that the spiritual life can only come from pre-existing spiritual life. But there are not two laws; there is one—Biogenesis. At the one end the Law is dealing with matter, at the other end with Spirit. . . Biogenesis will act wherever there is life." The final conclusion reached by Mr. Drummond is that from the nature of Law in general, and

from the scope of the Principle of Continuity in particular, the Laws of the natural life must be those of the spiritual life also. He concedes, of course, the possibility that "there may be new Laws" in the spiritual world, but insists that whatever new Laws be there, the old Natural Laws continue of necessity to be operative, producing the same results there as here. "The Natural Laws as at present known, whatever additions may yet be made to them, give a fair rendering of the facts of Nature. And their analogies or their projections in the Spiritual World may also be said to offer a fair account of that sphere, or of one or two conspicuous departments of it. The time has come for that account to be given. The greatest among the theological Laws are the Laws of Nature in disguise. It will be the splendid task of the theology of the future to take off the mask and disclose to a waning scepticism the naturalness of the supernatural." And yet though he admits the possibility of the existence and operation of "new Laws" in the Spiritual Sphere, he neglects to consider how far the presence or co-existence of new Laws may impose modification upon the action of the old Natural Laws; and indeed he practically argues all through against the existence of other laws in the Spiritual World than those which he calls Natural. On three grounds he tries to justify his procedure: (1) the improbability of the existence of such other Laws; (2) the absence of necessity for their existence; and (3) our human ignorance of whether there are really such or not.

The eleven chapters or papers which compose the greater part of Mr. Drummond's volume, are so many illustrations and enforcements of the Principle enunciated in the Introduction. Although unsystematic in their arrangement, "they are," we are assured, "organically connected by a single principle." In all of them the organising principle is the same—the identity of the Laws throughout the Spiritual and the Natural Spheres, considered, it must be remembered, from the standpoint of the Natural Sphere. JAMES BELL.

THE UNITARIANS OF LONDON BETWEEN FORTY AND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

[A paper read at a meeting of the Rosslyn Hill Congregational Society.]

AT the beginning of the year 1838 there was an extremely cold day, which rendered Murphy's Almanac famous and on which the Royal Exchange was burnt down, the tower falling as the bells chimed, "There's nae luck about the house." The day after this, I came to London to begin my studies for the ministry in the house and under the direction of the Rev. Benjamin Mardon, minister of Worship Street Chapel. I was only half-way between fifteen and sixteen years of age, but soon took a very lively interest in what was going on around me in religious matters. The Unitarian ministers of London were then hardly known to me, excepting the Rev. Robert Aspland, of Hackney, of whom I had often heard my father tell the following story. My father's tutor was the Rev. Dr. Evans, author of the "Sketch of the Denominations," and grandfather of our own fellow-worshippers, Mr. Lane Evans and Mr. Caleb Evans. My father, while pursuing his studies, chanced to fall in with Mr. Aspland, who said, "Well, Mr. Sadler, and what body of divinity does John Evans put into your hands?" From the tone in which this was repeated, I imagined Mr. Aspland of a very dignified bearing, and greatly my father's senior. On the latter point, however, I was mistaken; for I afterwards found that he was really my father's junior, and could not have been at the time much more than twenty years of age. My father replied, meekly, "I don't know, sir, that Dr. Evans puts into my hands any body of divinity but the Bible." I have often thought how astonished my father would have been if, while he was telling this story, some prophetic voice had whispered

in his ear, "Your son will be assistant and co-pastor with this same Mr. Aspland."

Soon after I came to London, I one day said to Mrs. Mardon, "I suppose Mr. Aspland is the most eminent of the London Unitarian preachers?" Her answer was, "Mr. Madge is very much liked as a preacher, and so, also, is Dr. Hutton." From that time I was particularly anxious to hear Mr. Madge, and soon an opportunity offered. He was to give a Sunday evening lecture at Little Portland Street Chapel, on "Unitarianism and Trinitarianism compared with one another and with the Language of Scripture." I was present at this lecture, and I recollect how, as I sat in a front seat in the gallery, I watched the clock, wishing the time would not go on so fast. Listening with delight, I was very sorry when, after speaking for an hour and a quarter, Mr. Madge brought his lecture to a close. A more recent student said in my presence that, when he attended a meeting in London, at which several of the ministers spoke, his thought was, "What old fogies these are, and what rubbish they talk!" My own feeling was just the reverse; and on such occasions I listened with open ears to men whom I looked up to with strong feelings of reverence. I often attended the services of Mr. Madge at Essex Street Chapel. He was then in his prime, and the chapel was usually full. His sermons were remarkably pure in style and eloquent and impassioned in manner. Something in his voice and enunciation gave to his preaching a peculiar charm. And his prayers were singularly fervent and impressive. Occasionally he delivered a series of lectures after the service, and these were attended by almost the whole of the congregation. In later years, when he became my personal friend, I had for him the warmest regard and affection. There were in his character a childlike simplicity and genuineness and much warmth of affection, combined with a great deal of earnestness and force. After he had ceased from his public labours, I often

felt that it was a distinct *gain* as well as a pleasure to have him with us a little longer not for anything he could do, but for something he could still *be*.

Dr. Hutton was minister of the chapel in Carter Lane, and had also an excellent congregation, if not quite so large as that at Essex Street. His preaching was, I think, not generally so much liked as that of Mr. Madge; but there were some who preferred it to any other, and he was a very loveable man, genial, warm-hearted, and sincerity itself. Pure and undefiled religion breathed in his religious services, as was felt even by strangers. I may illustrate the impression produced by Dr. Hutton's ministry by two instances which accidentally came to my knowledge. One night as I was about to go to bed there was a loud knock at my door, and on opening it I was accosted by a man who, in somewhat incoherent terms, begged me to go with him to a dying friend. As the clock struck twelve I was ushered into a small room in a back street in Camden Town. The sufferer told me that most of his friends considered him no better than an infidel, but that he had heard a minister who seemed to him to have the true spirit of religion, and that he now wished to see a minister of the same kind. The name of that minister was Dr. Hutton. On another occasion, on which I received a similar call, the name of Dr. Hutton was mentioned as that of the minister who was most present to the thought of the dying man. Good Dr. Hutton! The one drawback to his preaching was his inability to control his feelings; and the tenderness of his heart appeared rather to be touched by something in his own mind which was not expressed than by what he was actually saying. It was noticed that he was never more overcome than when he was preaching on cheerfulness. Once, when he was conducting the service at Hampstead, he had chosen for the last hymn the one beginning,

"While thee I seek, protecting Power."

In the sermon his infirmity had manifested itself as usual. After giving out the hymn, he read not simply the first verse, but the whole; and when he came to the line,

"My lifted eye, without a tear,"

it struck him that this was more than he could say with truth. So he altered the line and read,

"My lifted eye, *through nature's* tear."

Mr. Henry Enfield said to me afterwards, "Think of the honesty of the man!" Though, however, Dr. Hutton had the infirmity to which I have referred, he was usually the reverse of lachrymose; his face beamed with cheerful kindness, and always one of his characteristics was a love of fun. At a committee meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, some one said, "My opinion is so-and-so, but then I am nobody." Dr. Hutton replied, "I am somebody, and I think so-and-so," and ended by one of his hearty laughs. Notwithstanding the veneration inspired both by his appearance and character, there was a delightful boy element in him to the last. I think his mother, who lived to a great age, never ceased to regard him as a boy. When he was already advanced in years, she said, "Naughty boy, he will stuff his pockets with books." He lived in the days of gaiters and tail coats; and I recollect that the tails of his coat were large, and had capacious pockets outside, which often looked as if they were filled to the utmost. In the latter part of his life, he found sermon-writing rather burdensome, and was not unfrequently tempted to resort to his sermons of an earlier date. On one of these occasions, when the snow of age had gathered on his head, he had not looked over the sermon with sufficient care, and in preaching it he found himself beyond retreat in the following sentence: "Our fathers are already grey, and our own hair is beginning to be tinged." He read as far as "our fathers," before he saw what was coming, and he went through with the rest, to the amusement

of some of his congregation. The mention of his sermons reminds me of a characteristic saying of his. When his son Richard, then a student for the ministry, preached at Carter Lane, the father said, "I could not write so good a sermon as that." And very good sermons they were that Richard Hutton preached, as I know from those which he kindly preached in my own pulpit.

At Little Portland Street Chapel, of which the Rev. Edward Tagart was the minister, there was a numerous congregation. When I was a student I saw little of him; but afterwards, when I myself became evening preacher at Little Portland Street Chapel for some years, I met him frequently, and always found him most kind and friendly. He was a man of cultivated tastes, and his religious earnestness was shown by his continuing his labours, both as a minister and as secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, notwithstanding that he was quite independent in his circumstances. His stipend was small, for a considerable part of the pew-rents was devoted to paying off the chapel debt; and as secretary of the Association it seemed to me that his services were not always received and acknowledged so heartily as they should have been. I sometimes wondered how it was that, with his literary interests, he kept so faithfully to his two offices; but I admired him for doing so. He died in harness, from a fever, supposed to have been the effect of malaria during a visit to the Unitarian churches of Hungary. After the funeral I went home with Mr. Madge, who was much affected by the loss of his friend and fellow-labourer. While I was at Mr. Madge's, Dr. Hutton came in, and I shall not forget the meeting of these aged friends on that day, as they talked of the younger brother who had been taken away.

The congregation at the New Gravel Pit, Hackney, was as large as that at Essex Street. The sermons of the Rev. Robert Aspland were weighty and impressive, full of matter,

and I have heard Mr. John James Tayler speak of them in very high terms. They were greatly valued by the Duke of Sussex, whose copy, with many marginal notes, is now in Dr. Williams's Library, having been presented by Mr. Richard Cogan. Mr. Aspland's voice and manner had a radiance about them, though his delivery was slow. He was a born leader of men, with great aptitude for public life. Hence it was natural for him to take a prominent part not only in the business of his own religious body, but also in those affairs in which the three denominations—Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians or Unitarians—acted together. At the time, however, of which I am speaking, his health had begun to decline; and on my return from Germany, at the completion of my preliminary studies, I was invited to become his assistant. He preached only seven times after my appointment. But I had much benefit from his counsel. During my frequent visits to him in his study, he would talk first about congregational affairs; secondly, denominational affairs; and, thirdly, general affairs; and then he used to like to be read to, choosing generally some historical work, such as Robertson's "Charles V." Owing to his dignified and authoritative manner, some people were rather afraid of him; and one said to me, "If I had been at your shoulder when you received the invitation, I should have dissuaded you." I asked "Why?" The reply was, "Mr. Aspland is Mr. Aspland." But I invariably found him kind and considerate; and during the latter part of our joint ministry, affectionate and even fatherly. He frequently called me his son, and he treated me as if I had been a son. There was nothing in word or deed from him, in the whole period of my being associated with him, which I could have wished unsaid or undone; and I shall always regard what I learnt from him, and from being with him, as one of the most important parts of my education for the ministry, As almost the whole work of the congregation had fallen on me for upwards of

two years, and as there was no probability of his ever being able to preach again, it was thought well that I should be made his co-pastor. To this arrangement he cordially assented; but I was his co-pastor not many hours. The day after my appointment he was much worse than usual; and the following morning I learnt that he had breathed his last in the night. Of his delicate consideration for me I will give a single instance. On my asking him whether I should invite Joseph Barker to preach at the New Gravel Pit, he replied, "Do as you like. As he would be taking your place. not mine, it is for you to judge whether or not you would wish to invite him." And I did invite him accordingly.

In addition to the four larger congregations which I have described, there were several small ones; but these were all very small, excepting Brixton, which had recently been formed, under the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Wood. The minister at Stamford Street was the Rev. Wm. Hincks—a learned and kindly man, with no end of work in him, the founder and first editor of *The Inquirer* newspaper. While I was a student Dr. Cromwell was ordained as minister of Newington Green; my tutor, Mr. Mardon, delivering the charge to the minister, and Dr. Hutton the sermon to the congregation. The Rev. George Kenrick was minister at Hampstead. I not unfrequently walked over the fields from Kentish Town, where I lived, to Hampstead; but I recollect being in the chapel once only, when the Rev. E. S. (afterwards Dr.) Gannett, preached from the text, "I find no fault in him." Though the preacher was advertised the congregation was very small. Among those who were present was Mrs. Joanna Baillie. There was a chapel of considerable size at Brentford, under the ministry of the Rev. George Winchester Philp, son of the missionary at Spicer Street; I preached there twice as a student to a congregation of sixteen adults and sixteen Sunday-school children. There were three General Baptist congregations, all small—one at

Deptford, of which the Rev. John Omer Squier was minister; one at Coles Street, Borough, of which the Rev. Joseph Calrow Means was minister—*i.e.*, during the early part of my studentship—he soon resigned on account of holding some form of belief in the atonement approaching to that of othodoxy; the third General Baptist congregation had for its minister my tutor, the Rev. Benjamin Mardon, who was chiefly known as a Biblical scholar. He was an excellent Biblical critic, well versed in ancient MSS. of the Scriptures, various readings, &c., and in suggested interpretations of difficult passages, and had his Griesbach and Lachmann in constant use. He delighted also to collect information about the fathers in the faith, and was well equipped in the Unitarian controversy. There were two mission stations—Spicer Street, with Mr. Philp as missionary, and Chapel Street, with Mr. Vidler.

I ought to add that when I came to London, Mr. W. J. Fox was not connected with the Unitarians, but occupied a standpoint of his own very different from theirs. He had been the orator of our body; but I have frequently heard of the great impression his sermons produced on men and women who would not have been satisfied with mere oratory. One told me a sermon of his was spiritual food for all the week. A few of the Hackney congregation having left the New Gravel Pit Chapel, as it was called, to attend the services at Finsbury, Mr. Aspland remarked, "There is a fox that steals my——" The sentence was not finished.

I have never known any men who seemed to me of more sterling worth than the principal Unitarian laymen of London at the time of which I am speaking. When I mention the names of John Watson, Richard Martineau, Warren, Preston, Nettlefold, Chamberlain, Lawrence, Le Breton, Esdaile, Wansey, Edwin Field, the Enfields, Cookson, H. W. Busk, Samuel Sharpe, not to enlarge the list, the type of character to which I refer will be understood by all who

had the privilege of knowing any of these men. They were not of a demonstrative stamp, but thoroughly earnest, and interested in religious objects—upright, reliable, honourable in the highest degree—mature in judgment, and liberal with their money and time. They were true pillars of the churches to which they belonged, and ready to take an active part in the institutions and trusts of their religious body. It was always a satisfaction and pleasure to me to meet them; the estimation in which I held them was increased when acquaintance ripened into friendship; and I have often felt that if it be the tendency of Unitarianism to produce such men, it would not be easy to say anything better in its behalf.

The Unitarians of London between forty and fifty years ago were a very homogeneous body. They were united in opinion, and in various ways closely bound together. The leading ministers, and some of the laymen to whom I have referred, met very often at the committee meetings of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and the London Domestic Mission Society, at the Presbyterian Board, and at meetings for the administration of trusts. They had evident pleasure in each other's society, and were warmly attached to one another. At the quarterly meetings of Dr. Williams's trustees, the trustees dined together after the business was done, and almost every trustee stayed; and I well remember how friendly and genial and interesting these social gatherings were. In order that our leading ministers and laymen might have increased opportunity of friendly intercourse, the "Non-Con." Club had been established; but its palmy days declined with the failing health of Mr. Aspland, who had been more than anybody else its animating spirit; and soon after I came to London this club ceased to exist.

THOMAS SADLER.

(*To be continued.*)

HUMAN AUTOMATISM AND FREE WILL.

LECTURE VI.—PART II.

[This Second Part of Lecture VI., which completes the series, is printed from the Reporter's notes, which had not been revised by Dr. Carpenter.—J. E. C.]

THE Automatist's creed (see p. 31) appears to me to neglect one very important element in the case—viz., Human Nature. Our conception of uniformity of sequence in the physical universe is entirely based on our observational experience of its phenomena, interpreted by our intellectual faculty; and the assertion that the same uniformity *must* prevail in the world of mind is a pure assumption. We ought to start in this inquiry with observational experience of *its* phenomena, and to interpret these by our own trained and disciplined intelligence; assigning their full weight, not only to those considerations on which I have already dwelt as showing the intimate *nexus* between physiological and psychological activity, but to those which indicate man's possession of a moral power to direct and control that activity. We must take account of these facts of our universal consciousness, which *prove* (as it seems to me) that within certain limits—different for different individuals, and even varying for each one with the conditions under which he exists at the moment—we all have a certain *freedom of choice*, or power of self-direction, which gives to man a unique position in Nature; differentiating him not only from the inorganic universe, but from those higher types of animal existence in which we recognise the expressions of intelligence, of feelings and of passions akin to our own, but which we must none the less regard as "thinking automata." The limits of this freedom are imposed on each individual, in the first instance, by his heredity, *plus* the conditions under which that heredity has undergone its development into the

full adult character; these conditions (as I have already stated in regard to the formation of habits) having a peculia- influence during that early period of our lives in which our constitution, bodily and mental, is being formed, whether for good or for evil. All the facts on which the automatist dwells are, I maintain, perfectly explicable on that view. On the other hand, there is a large body of moral experience, which seems to me utterly inconsistent with the automatist doctrine. For I hold it to be the common-sense conclusion of every one who has observed the facts of his own consciousness, and has reflected on them with intelligence, but without any preconception derived from philosophic theories, that whilst in the early period of his life his character has been formed *for* him rather than *by* him, there has come a time when he has felt the consciousness of a power to take in hand the formation of his own character, and the direction of his own conduct; and that it has thencefo rth depended very much upon *himself* what course that development shall pursue. Such a one recognises as the most valuable result of early training that which has prepared him to make himself the master of his appetites and passions, as well as of his intellectual powers; and which has thus enabled him to give the most favourable direction to his moral as well as to his intellectual activity, and thus to shape his conduct in accordance with what he knows he *ought* or *ought not* to do, instead of allowing himself to be the slave of the impulses which arise from the automatism of his nature.

You will remember that I have dwelt, in every one of my previous lectures, upon what I hold to be a fundam ental fact, that we have within ourselves a power of *fixing our attention upon any one of our own states of consciousness;* thus not only augmenting *its* intensity, but proportionally diminishing the force with which *other* ideas or feelings present themselvcs before us, even to the degree of absolu te exclusion. And I assert this fact to be of not only *equal* but even

superior trustworthiness to any one of those so-called facts of external nature, upon which all physical science is founded. For whilst the one is the direct testimony of consciousness, the others are inferences drawn by our intelligence from physical impressions made upon our organs of sense, which inferences (as I formerly showed you) are open to various sources of fallacy. Now, this power is capable, in a very remarkable degree, of being improved by exercise. It is one which all intelligent education—the education given by those who really understand their work—will aim to draw forth. It is first called into action by every good educator (whether mother or nurse) in that early infantile period of pure automatism which we all have to go through; as I myself learned by the observation of the guidance of the child-life in my own family, given by an intelligent and able nurse, who exactly understood her business, and did it (I believe) almost intuitively. You must all have known such women, who, without being able to assign any special reason for what they do, have a peculiar "gift" for the right management of children. And one most valuable exercise of that gift is the distraction of the attention of the child from its own little hurts or grievances, by presenting to it some object which shall have a greater interest for it—holding it up to the window, for example, to see a passing horse or dog, or taking up some toy of which it is fond, and so by directing the child's attention to a new object, drawing it off from the consciousness of its pain. And in the later portion of the educational period, it is by the encouragement offered by the judicious instructor—the reiterated assurance given to the pupil that he *has* the power (if he will only exert it) of mastering a task which may be distasteful to him—backed up, if necessary, by the threat of punishment if he neglect his work—that the pupil is brought to feel that he has *within himself* the power to fix his attention upon his task, and, by a self-determining effort, to withstand the temptation to turn

from it to something more agreeable. The power thus acquired, as I have already endeavoured to show you, forms the foundation of our intellectual strength. Doubtless there are some who, without much training, have the power of applying themselves determinately to courses of study that have an attraction for them, and who, when they "find their work," as Carlyle pithily says, "do it." But, on the other hand, we are all of us conscious of times when even an attraction which is ordinarily very strong, utterly fails; and this, not in the presence of some greater attraction, but from a feeling of general *malaise* (which may be due to some atmospheric state, or to the presence of biliary matter in the blood), or from the sense of fatigue resulting from previous mental exertion, which renders us disinclined to anything but idleness. And yet if there is a certain task which we know that we *ought* to perform, and we admit to ourselves that we *can* do it if we only *will* strongly enough, we may carry it through by the determinate fixture of our attention upon it, unless our physical power gives way. Every such effort, however, is made at the expense of considerable subsequent fatigue; and, as I formerly pointed out, the expenditure of nervous energy involving a corresponding destruction of tissue, seems to have a much closer relation to the amount of *effort* that is thus given, than to the amount of thought that has passed through the mind.

So it is, I think, in regard to our moral action. In the direction of our conduct, according to whatever "rule of life" we have framed for ourselves, we fix our attention upon one class of motives to the exclusion of another; and it is this power of determinately fixing our attention that enables us to cultivate the right habit of feeling, just as we cultivate the right habit of thought. It is in this manner that we form *principles of action*, which, when the mind is once thoroughly shaped in accordance with them, we carry into operation with a facility that is proportionate to the degree

in which we have trained ourselves to obey them. The analogy between bodily and mental "training" is here extremely marked. I have shown you how we bring ourselves to the facile performance of many actions—such as that of balancing the body—which we originally found extremely difficult; and in like manner, by the fixed determination to act upon one set of motives, without even allowing ourselves to think of another, such action becomes so completely a "matter of course" that we feel no temptation to do otherwise.

Now what are the motive powers, essentially, that determine our conduct? In the first place we have those arising out of our physical nature. The very first craving, the most imperious, is the craving for air. We cannot stifle this by any direct act of the will. But it is a curious fact, which I think is not without its significance, that although no one has ever yet committed suicide by holding his breath (for the necessity of breathing has overcome any direct resistance of the will), yet many suicides have been committed by the determination to keep in some posture or condition in which breathing shall be impossible. Thus, persons have destroyed themselves by simply holding the face in a basin of water; and a great number of cases have occurred in which persons have killed themselves by hanging, when they had nothing to do but to put their feet to the ground to relieve the pressure upon the neck. They have turned the flank, as it were, of that urgent demand by bringing another power into operation, the power of the will over another set of muscles, and this consideration we shall have to apply by-and-by, for it is this power of turning the flank of an importunate motive by fixing the attention upon some other motive which is our great safeguard in times of moral difficulties.

The next craving is for food. We have to supply ourselves with food, and to provide food for those who are dependent on us. In those lower grades of society in which the acquisition of food is the one great need, we find that this exerts

the dominant influence on every action in life, and the estimation of the rights of *meum* and *tuum* very much indeed depends on the provision which each makes or expects others to make for him to meet this fundamental necessity. Among savage races this craving manifests itself in a great variety of ways, but especially in impressing on the mind of each individual his right to a subsistence. Where such rights are in any way interfered with, it very naturally excites the passionate desire to enforce them, and hence come most of the wars and troubles by which those races are disturbed. With ourselves these motives influence more our general course of action. We have to take up professions or trades or businesses of various kinds which our foresight shows us will enable us to supply those wants, and this occupation of our minds introduces another set of elements altogether.

There are a number of other considerations arising out of our physical constitution on which I need not dwell, because I merely take typical examples. But there is one which affords us a very good illustration, as it brings the question of heredity very strongly before us, and that is the alcoholic temptation. I hold it to be fully demonstrated that undue indulgence in the use of alcoholic liquors does tend to produce a physical modification which transmits itself hereditarily, and renders the offspring peculiarly susceptible of the same attraction. The physical temptation exerts an influence over persons thus unhappily constituted which those who have never felt that temptation can hardly understand; and this is, therefore, one of those cases in which large allowance must be made for the hereditary tendency. Moreover, in this particular constitution the directing power of the will is generally much feebler, I believe, than in ordinary minds. Many of you will recollect, I dare say, the case of Hartley Coleridge. His father was one of those extraordinary beings who present a most remarkable combination of abilities, with the least power of making volitional

use of them. He was as remarkable a case of human automatism—a most elevated kind of automatism—as it is possible to conceive. He had almost every mental power that a man could have, the power of intellect, the power of imagination, the poetic power; and yet, partly by original constitution and partly by his own evil habits, he was utterly destitute of self-direction, and was obliged to place himself under the guidance of others. His son, Hartley Coleridge, inherited his tendency, and could not be said to be in any way responsible for the unhappy end to which he came. It was remarkable that the degradation which his nature would otherwise have suffered from his habits, seemed to be kept in check by a certain purity and simplicity of character. When he was found telling stories to the rustics in a country inn, enticed by the unlimited beer which the landlord was quite willing to give him on account of the audience he gathered, these tales were all of an elevating rather than of a debasing tendency. Even the precise moralist, Wordsworth, desired that he should be buried beside his own family graves, for he was, said Wordsworth, "one of us."

These are types of opposite conditions; on the one hand, of the exertion of the self-directing power under the influence of the good original heredity, constitution, education, and the conviction that it can be so exerted; on the other hand, of the loss of this self-directing power through evil habits, the use of narcotic stimulants, alcohol, or opium (in the case of Coleridge), and at the same time the abnegation altogether of any attempt to exert it.

What, then, is the dominant motive by which all moralists assert that our conduct should be guided? We all agree in the answer; it is the sense of right, of duty. And how is that sense acquired? We all agree that there is in our nature, in the nature even of the lowest savages, some sense of what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done. That may be of a very low order. Take the case of the waifs and

strays of our streets, in whom it would seem that no other sense of right and wrong exists than that which is connected with their own claims and their desire to enforce them. They consider everything to be right which they like, and everything to be wrong which they do not like. The first thing to be done—I speak on the authority of one who had perhaps unrivalled experience in the training of these unhappy beings—is to show them that their rights, as they consider them, are wrongs to others, and that if others asserted their rights as against them, they would feel themselves to be wronged. That is the way in which the higher conscience can be first awakened, and it is the way in which you endeavour to arouse it in your children. The golden rule is enforced by personal application, and at last the mind, even of the most degraded, can be made to feel that there is something which they themselves can do to direct and control their own action. I affirm this on the basis of a large experience, and I assert that to be a most important experience. It is the experience of every one who carefully studies the phenomena of ordinary child-life, as it is also the experience of all those who have carefully studied the phenomena of these grown children who have never been trained, and have come (it may be) nearly to adult age without any other idea of right than what they like.

I do not propose to enter on any general discussion of the source of this moral sense. I should say that the consciousness of a distinction between right and wrong is a part of our moral constitution ; but the question as to *what* is right and *what* is wrong is mainly determined by the conditions under which each individual has grown up. You must be perfectly well aware that in regard to the application of general principles to particular cases, no two persons, scarcely, will come to the same conclusions. We are all of us liable to make mistakes, and to have doubts and difficulties as to what is our duty in any particular contingency. Where such

doubts and difficulties arise, the best plan is simply to take our stand upon the great fundamental principles, and act according to the best of our judgment, without anxiously asking ourselves whether this is really the best possible course. The fact that we have a conscience is based upon the conviction that we could have done something else than we did. In determining our course of action we base that action upon the motives that we feel ought to determine us as being the highest. But there are many cases in which it is a question which are the highest motives. In the old times of slavery in this country,* was a falsehood to aid the escape of a slave justifiable? Some might be brought up, as I was, in the belief that nothing could justify the telling of a falsehood. Others would feel that there were cases in which all the highest truths of our nature, all those requirements which have been implanted in us by an Almighty Father, needed that we should act upon that conviction, and that we should violate what I might call verbal truths in order to act upon a still more fundamental truth. These are what used to be called questions of conscience; they depend on the relative nobility of the motives which impel us to one act rather than another.

Now we all agree upon the fundamental basis of Christian morality; *viz*, that the selfish motives, the motives of self-advancement, self-benefit, self-preservation even, ought to be subordinated to those which it is now common to call the altruistic motives, or those which have reference to the welfare of others. If a contest arises between the one and the other, we all agree that the benevolent class of motives should dominate the selfish class. And the question then is—how are we to make the one dominant over the other? This is the fundamental question—how do we make one prevail, or try to make one prevail?

It is perfectly clear (as it seems to me) that we have the

* These Lectures were delivered in Boston, Massachusetts.

power to increase the weight or force of the one motive, and to exclude the other, by an act of our own. That act consists in the attention that we give to the one, keeping it constantly and steadily before our minds, and determining that we will not attend to the other. It is an action of precisely the same nature as that which every miscroscopist can carry into effect, when he determines to attend to the visual impressions produced upon one eye, and entirely to exclude the visual impressions produced upon the other which he still keeps open. Nothing can be more simple than this, and nothing is more accordant with the experience of all those who have observed their own mental processes in self-regulation.

Let us take the instance to which I just now referred, of a man who has a strong alcoholic temptation. At different times of my life I have had very sad cases of this kind brought before me. I knew a prosperous and successful medical man in a large country practice, in a position in every way suitable to him, and with a family to which he was entirely devoted. He had lost all his four children in one week by scarlatina. Under such circumstances it was not very surprising that he should seek some consolation. He took to the habit of solitary drinking to drown care. He very soon found that he was losing his own power over himself, that he was no longer accessible to the calls of his profession, that he was becoming a slave to these indulgences. He made a great effort to pull himself up. He banished all alcoholic liquors from his house; he had strength and nerve enough to refuse them at the houses of his patients. And yet that poor man, when he went into his dispensary to make up the medicines for his patients (for he lived in the country, and was obliged to dispense himself), could not stay his hand from taking the bitter tinctures which would alleviate his craving. He came to consult me, and my advice to him was this: "You have shown that you have a great power to withstand this temptation, though not sufficient to

withstand it in this form ; you have simply to put yourself in a condition in which it shall not operate. You must exchange your country practice for one in which you will only be obliged to prescribe, and will not have these bitter things within your reach." And upon that advice I have every reason to believe that he acted with success.

This, then, is the manner in which, as I hold, we exercise the power of self-regulation. It is not only to be exerted in the great crises of our lives ; a continuous self-direction and control are needed for the formation of our fixed characters. And I think I may state it as another result of universal experience that there is no power in our nature which is more capable of being strengthened by habit than this. In every instance in which we weakly allow ourselves to be drawn to the worse when we feel that we really could do the better, we diminish our power. On the other hand, in every instance in which we make a successful fight with the worst part of our nature, and determinately keep out of our view the temptation which harrasses us, we increase that power: and with every increase of strength we have so much to the good when the next time of trouble comes.

There is another view which I wish particularly to emphasize. When the evil habit presses upon us, the brooding over some fancied injury, for example, or the temptation of some physical passion, it is not the best thing (in fact I believe it is almost the worst) to keep on saying to ourselves, "I will not yield to it." The way to vanquish it is to fix the mind on something else, to find some object of interest which will have sufficient attraction for us to draw us off from the contemplation of that which we know to be objectionable. You have suffered, let us say, what you honestly believe to be a wrong, and you keep brooding over it. It troubles you, it haunts you, it will not let you rest. It may be that some very dear friend has done something that you wonder at, which you do not wish to think

was a slight or offence to you, but you can scarcely help looking at it in that light. There are some persons who always take this view of things, and seem to think that the whole world is in league against them. There are others who look at everything through a Claude Lorraine glass, and will not allow themselves to suppose that their friends are intentionally injuring or neglecting or undervaluing them. Often the gloomy and morose disposition is the result of a physical ailment, which a little medicine may alleviate. The bright and sunny temper, on the other hand, many of us may have experienced in some charming scenery amid pleasant weather and genial companionship. When we feel conscious of the uncomfortable condition, what is our remedy? Not to say, "I will not think about it," and keep on repeating that phrase to ourselves, but to determine to find something else to occupy our minds. I have been in a condition of that kind myself, suffering from general depression and want of intellectual power, as well as an inability to escape from disagreeable thoughts; and I have found that I could do nothing better than read a novel of Walter Scott's, with which I was perfectly familiar but which was still of sufficient interest to me to occupy my mind. Anything is better than brooding, and whatever is in itself wholesome is desirable in such states in order to engage the attention.

The general view, then, which I have desired to impress on you is this,—that the automatism of our nature is of a kind which can be to a great degree controlled. A great degree, I say, a variable degree in each one of us, but that degree very much depends upon ourselves. That there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine of the automatism of our moral nature cannot, I think, be questioned. There is, on the other hand, a fundamental basis of experience, not merely in our introspection, but in the common conscience of mankind, for the belief that there is a choice—a limited choice it may be, but still a choice—which would

be utterly and completely out of place if this doctrine were strictly true. Whilst, then, we aim by the volitional direction of the spontaneous and automatic activity of our intellectual powers to turn them to the best account in the acquirement of knowledge, and the pursuit of truth, it is of even greater importance that we should give a right direction to those motive forces which determine the lines of our conduct and impart energy to our work in life. And this consideration returns upon us with additional urgency when we bring to bear upon it the physiological doctrine of heredity. We seem fully justified in believing that in so far as we may improve our own intellectual faculties by appropriate culture, we are improving the intellectual constitution which our children and our children's children may inherit from us; that while individually labouring to extend the boundaries of human knowledge we are helping to develop the thinking power of our race. In the same way, we rejoice in the conviction that in so far as we elevate our own moral nature by determinately concentrating our attention on the highest and noblest motives to the exclusion of all that we feel to be selfish or degrading, we are not only training ourselves to do the work which each one of us finds it most suitable to his powers to do in the best way for his own generation, but we are laying a basis for a much higher elevation in those who come after us—an elevation of which we may ourselves obtain glimpses in those exalted states which lie within the experience of most of us, but which we may feel it beyond our own power to maintain. And thus every man who leaves behind him either the expression of great thoughts, or the creations of a lofty imagination, or the record of a noble life not merely helps to educate each successive generation, as it appears, to the use and enjoyment of his own particular legacy, but contributes to enlarge its capacity for the use and enjoyment of all things, past, present, and to come, which can make life really worth living. W. B. CARPENTER.

THE BABYLONIAN CONCEPTION OF SIN.

[For the convenience of readers interested in comparative religion, but unacquainted with the Hebrew and Babylonian languages, each word or phrase in either language is translated as it occurs.]

THE main purpose of this paper is to set forth the idea of sin that prevailed among the ancient people of Babylon, in order that we may compare it with the Hebrew conception of sin, as found in the Old Testament. The idea of sin is expressed in the language of Babylon by many words. In fact they are synonyms, each having a slightly different meaning from the others. The word most generally in use is *ḫiṭṭu*, the feminine form of which is *ḫiṭṭtu*. This, as the Hebrew student will at once see, is of the same root as the common term for sin in the Old Testament—viz., *ḫaṭa*. What the exact meaning of this word is both in Babylonian and Hebrew we shall see presently. The first synonym of *ḫiṭṭu* is *arnu*, which sometimes is found in the form *annu*. In the famous hexagonal cylinder of Sennacherib, well known to students as containing the Assyrian record of the expedition against Hezekiah, it occurs in column 3, line 4, in the form *annu*, and is there joined to another synonym for sin—viz., *ḫablâtu*. In line 6 of the same column it occurs with a suffix attached, thus :—*aransunu* 'their sin,' (*aran* being the construct state of the word *arnu*). We shall do well to note what is related in the particular passage where these words are found. Padiah, the king of Ekron, had been a faithful vassal of the Assyrian king. He was put into chains by the chief men of his city, and handed over to the safe keeping of Hezekiah. To punish the King of Judah Sennacherib marched against him. He advanced against Ekron and put to death those who had rebelled against him : "on stakes all round the city he hung their bodies. The inhabitants (literally 'sons') of the city who had committed faults and crimes he reckoned as prisoners of war." It was a crime (*arnu*) and a sin (*ḫiṭṭu*) to deal with a loyal subject as Hezekiah had done. Manifestly this sin was not a moral offence, but the contravention of an unwritten law recognised as binding upon nations not at war with each other.

Ḫiṭṭu also occurs in a very interesting passage in the Deluge tablet. On column 4, lines 13—16, we read as follows : "Ea opened his mouth, and spake : he said to the warrior Bel, Thou art the warlike leader of the gods. Why, then, why hast thou acted so rashly and sent a deluge? Let his sins fall upon the sinner : let his evil fall upon the evildoer. Let [me] pray thee, that he be not destroyed : be merciful, that he be not . . ." What are the words here used for sin and sinner? Sin is *ḫiṭṭu*, and sinner = *bêl ḫiṭṭi*, 'the lord of sin' ; 'evil' = *ḫablâtu ;* and 'evildoer' = '*bêl ḫablâti.*' This latter word *ḫablâtu* may be compared with

a kindred root in Hebrew, *ḥabal* 'to corrupt' (*Germ.* 'verderben') and *ḥebhal* in Syriac = *Lat.* 'corruptus fuit.' The other word which occurs as a synonym on the Sennacherib cylinder is *ḳul-lul-tu*, of the same root as the Hebrew *ḳelalah* 'a curse,' and means literally, 'What is curse-worthy,' hence a sin. We shall see further on that a curse followed sin as one of its punishments. Another word that occurs as a synonym is *limuttu* = *limuntu*, as we see from the adjective '*limnu*,' and is generally translated 'wickedness.' This word is of non-Semitic origin, and has therefore no parallel in the Hebrew. In 1st Samuel xxvi. 21 we meet with a verb *shagah*, which in the Revised Version is rendered 'to err.' From this root is the word *shegu*, another synonym for 'sin,' which literally signifies 'error,' 'a going astray.'

Thus far we have considered the words commonly in use among the Babylonians to denote the different shades of meaning attaching to the general word 'sin.' I wish in what follows to inquire more closely in what sense the word *ḥiṭṭu* in particular is used. We have already seen what the meaning of it is on the Sennacherib cylinder. Rebellion against the sovereign power is also described as *ḥiṭṭu*. In an account of the subjugation of Hamath we read that its king had caused others to rebel with him against Assyria. The Assyrian gathered together his forces, and in the midst of their cities he slew the rebels. The rebels are called *bêl ḥiṭṭi*, 'the lords of sin,' the same expression that occurred on the Deluge Tablet to denote 'sinner.' In an inscription of Merodach Baladan, the town Kis, which he besieged, is called the town of sinners, i.e., *al bêl ḥiṭṭi*. *Al* is from *alu*, 'city,' so that the expression equals literally 'the city of the lord of sin,' the sinful or rebellious city.

From the foregoing we infer that the word *ḥiṭṭu*, the equivalent of the Hebrew *ḥaṭa*, is used to designate the rebellious spirit, an unfaithfulness towards a dominant power. But let me add that this is not the only meaning which it has on the Inscriptions. When we refer to the penitential psalms which happily have been preserved and carefully published in the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," as well as in Haupt's "Sumerische" and "Akkadische Keilschrifttexte," we shall find there that the word *ḥiṭṭu* has quite a different signification. Professor Sayce tells us that there can be restored from the scattered relics of the library of Assurbanipal, excavated from the ruins of his palace at Nineveh, the prayer-books of two successive stages of religion. The hymns that were written in honour of the gods or "in utterance of the spiritual yearnings of their worshippers" go back to a very early period. And in these early hymns are to be found passages which are the passionate expression of the anguish of a conscience that stands self-convicted. The sin for which the man is repentant is rebellion against the holy spirit of goodness. He is conscious of a higher impulse which he heeded not, and he feels that he has yielded to the lower. It seems to me that in these psalms sin is of a very different character from the sin spoken of in the historical tablets. "O my God, my transgression is great, my sins are many. The forbidden thing did I eat. The forbidden thing did I trample upon." The penitent

one prays to his god to "graciously forgive the sins that he has sinned." What sins? Certainly the disobedience to a higher will. And this is the higher and the more spiritual conception of sin. The transgression is not of a codified law, but of a law deep graven by the Supreme Being upon the human heart. When we consider the nature of the punishments that are inflicted upon the sinful, we shall have no hesitation in admitting that in the hymns the sin spoken of is that implied in a conscious acting against the bidding of conscience. Before we consider the punishments mentioned on the Inscriptions, let us next see what was the idea of sin *(ḫaṭa)* that prevailed among the people of Israel. We know that the Israelites had many of their religious stories and ideas from the older people of Babylon and the still older people of Akkad. At any rate we can trace back many of the early stories to an earlier source. Thus the Deluge story of Genesis has its parallel, if not its source, in the Babylonian story; the finding of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter is exactly like the story on the Inscriptions concerning the infancy of Sargina I. It cannot, therefore, but be important to inquire what the Israelites said about *ḫaṭa*, in order that we may see if it in any way corresponds to the Babylonian conception of *ḫiṭṭu*.

It is as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *ḫaṭa* that the Apostle Paul uses the word ἁμαρτία for sin. Sin was the transgression of the law. To the Jew sin meant disobedience to the written law of Sinai. To Paul sin in its highest sense meant transgression of the law written on the tablet of the heart. In the early period of Israel's history sin could only be known as the not-keeping the commandments, but as civilisation advanced this lower conception of it had to yield to the higher, inculcated in the teachings of Jesus and Paul. Under the old dispensation a man was convicted of sin when the legal ribunals decided that the written law had been transgressed. This old law was a hard, dead "shall": "Thou shalt," or "Thou shalt not," and obedience to external demands was enforced by holding out external punishments as a terror to evil-doers. In brief, right and wrong among the ancient Israelites was regarded from a forensic point of view. Hence the notion of sin that prevailed among them was the outcome of this legal view of right and wrong. The individual was guilty of *ḫaṭa*, *i.e.*, sin, who set at defiance the recognised law by which the social and political life of the community was controlled. Let us ask ourselves again what is the root signification of this Hebrew word *ḫaṭa*. The verb has the same consonantal root, and its original meaning is 'to fail, err, commit a fault, to miss.' Fortunately for our present inquiry the word occurs in the Old Testament in this original signification. In Judges xx. 16, we read of 700 men who were so skilful in throwing stones from the sling that not one of them failed to hit the mark he aimed at. The verb used to express this idea of missing the mark is the verb *ḫaṭa*. In Proverbs xix. 2, we read "that the man who hasteth with his feet, sinneth," or as the margin correctly expresses it, "misseth his way." Professor Franz Delitzsch, in his comment on this passage, says that he who hasteth

without being intellectually and morally clear as to the goal and way to it, will *make a false step, will go wrong.* The idea of sin then originally was of blundering, missing the mark, making a wrong step. Yahveh to the Israelite was not the god of the conscience. To murder and to steal were offences against man; they were not looked upon as offending Yahveh, and they were therefore not sins in our sense of the word. The man had sinned who had failed to come up to the standard required of him by the law. Yahveh is the judge as well as king of his people; and they who sin have to appear before his judgment-seat. It was a sin to practise idolatry, *i.e.*, to worship other gods than the God of Israel, for as king Yahveh could not regard as other than sin, worship offered to the gods of other nations. Clearly this is not our conception of sin nor sin as we find it spoken of in the New Testament.

We now come to consider what were the consequences of sin. First of all, let us see what the Babylonians say upon this matter. Sin must be punished and that too with severity.* Sin in a higher sense, as the transgression of a moral law, was generally punished by the infliction of madness on the sinner. The word used for "madness" is *ṭe'u*, and the meaning of the word is evident when we compare it with a kindred root in he Aramaic verb *sha'ah*, to err, a word which also occurs in Syriac, and is explained by Kirsch in his Chrestomathy as meaning 'erravit,' the adjecival form being rendered by 'stultus' (fool). The Babylonians have themselves freed us from any doubt as to the signification of the word, inasmuch as they describe to us in their bilingual tablets the nature of the disease which they denominate by *ṭe'u*. On these tablets the original language was non-Semitic, either Sumerian or Akkadian. This language was known to the scribes of King Assurbanipal, and happily for us these old scholars have translated the originals into the more modern language of Assyria and Babylon. This latter, the translation, is written under each line of the original, or else parallel to them. The language of Babylon can be read by modern students, and they not unfrequently find words in the Babylonian represented in the older language by ideograms, as is the case with this word for *madness.* These old tablets, that have long lain hidden beneath the dust of ages, are being made daily to yield more and more of their secrets, thanks to the patient perseverance of men like Pinches and Sayce in England, Delitzsch and Haupt in Germany, Menant and Oppert in France. By patient comparison of the interlinear translation with the original, the older languages are being gradually mastered. In the Assyrian rendering the word for *madness* is written syllabically, and it is represented in the non-Semitic language by two ideograms which signify *disease-head.* That is to say madness is explained as a disease of the head, elsewhere called a '*muruṣ ḳaḳḳadi.*' The disease is compared to a "mighty whirlwind whose path no man knows. It falls suddenly upon men like

* We need scarcely here consider what were the punishments inflicted by the conquerors upon rebels, though these, as we have seen, were called sinners. These were treated in various ways, a not uncommon method of treating captured enemies in war, being "the cutting off of the head."

lightning." The great madness, which is also called 'the wicked curse,' 'covers a man as though it were a garment: it holds him fast and kills him as though he were a lamb. Madness goes round like a mighty flood, and is from sunrise to sunset." The man upon whom it falls is like one possessed by a demon (*mullû*). As a curse it is called *arrat limutti*, "the curse of wickedness"=the wicked curse. This word *arrat* will remind the student of Hebrew of the verb *aradh* 'to curse': the second substantive *limutti* is used as expressing a quality contained in the first. This mode of expressing the adjective is common to Babylonian with Hebrew. The curse is also described on the Inscriptions as a voice (*ḳûlû*); also as "the voice not good" (*ḳûlû la ṭâbu*) and "the evil voice" (*ḳûlû kuru*). "The voice is the demon madness" (*mulu-u ṭe'u*). The inscription from which I have quoted the foregoing expressions (viz., IV. R., plate 7) goes on to relate how that the god Merodach intercedes with his father, the god Ea, on behalf of the afflicted man. "He entered into the house of his father Ea, and spake—O my father, the wicked curse like a demon is laid upon the man. Concerning the wicked one he said to him, what this man shall do that he may get well I know not. Then Ea answered his son Merodach—My son, what dost thou not know? what more shall I add to thee? [*i.e.* to thy knowledge]. Merodach, what dost thou not know? What more can I teach thee? What I know thou knowest. Go, my son Merodach, lead him to the house of purifying sprinkling; from his oath [or ban] set him free; release him from his oath [or ban]." Elsewhere in the Inscriptions is the wicked one compared to a man laid under a ban, and he is also likened to a man caught in a net out of which he finds it impossible to escape. In IV. R., plate 3, lines 5a and 6a, we read—"The man who fears not God will be cut off like a reed: he who honours not the goddess Ishtar will be made weak in his limbs; like the stars of heaven he shall melt and like the waters of the night he shall vanish away."

Are there punishments similar to those mentioned in the above quotation from Babylonian literature also mentioned in the Old Testament literature? We have found it by no means easy to find exact parallels, but that similar ideas prevailed among the Hebrews we hope amply to substantiate. Yahveh punished sinners in many ways, for as Lord of nature its forces were at his command. And again, idolaters were subjected to various punishments. Thus, those who had worshipped the golden calf were slain. Nadab and Abihu are burnt with fire because they offered strange fire in their censers before Yahveh. The punishment threatened for disobedience to his commandments is, according to Lev. xxvi. 14-40, consumption and fever, that shall consume the eyes and make the soul pine away; and their enemies shall rule over them. The fiery serpents were regarded as a punishment for sin (Numbers xxi.). The sons of Israel, after the time of Joshua's leadership, forsook the God of their fathers who had brought them out of the land of Egypt, and served Baalim. They were delivered into the hands of their enemies, and having been sore distressed they repented and returned to Yahveh.

Deuteronomy xxviii. tells us at the beginning what shall be the blessings that shall fall to the lot of those who hearken unto Yahveh's voice and keep his commandments; from verse 15 on to the end we are told what will be the consequences of disobedience; and among the punishments mentioned as being inflicted upon those who thus sin is *madness* (v. 28) It is true that the word here used is not of the same root as *ṭe'u*, and for this reason—that there is no word of kindred root in Hebrew. The word is of the same root as *shegu* mentioned above. I need scarcely mention that infringements of the law regarding theft were dealt with by the priests, who, according to the Deuteronomist, were by their sentence to decide every strife and every offence.

On our tablet madness is called a demon, and the madman was like one possessed by a demon. I know of no parallel to this idea in the Old Testament, but we are strongly reminded of the men spoken of in the New Testament as possessed by evil spirits. This curse of possession covers a man as doth a garment, an idea which has an exact equivalent in the words of the Psalmist, who says that "violence covereth the wicked as doth a garment" (Ps. lxxiii. 6). Then, again, when on the tablet we read of the curse slaying the wicked man as though he were a lamb, we think at once of the familiar words: "Evil shall slay the wicked" (Ps. xxxiv. 21).

The god Ea commands Merodach to take the man to the house of sprinkling, where he can be sprinkled with water that shall purify him. The man is unclean, as he is possessed by a demon, and the water is supposed to remove the impurity. A most interesting parallel to this is to be found in Leviticus viii. Aaron and his sons are dedicated to their office as priests, but prior to this act they are obliged to bathe their bodies, for the man who draws near to Yahveh must be clean in body. The Levites as standing further away from Yahveh, were sprinkled by Moses with water as a sign that they had passed out of the stage of impurity, which before Yahveh is sinful, into that of purity and holiness. The water is called in Hebrew *mê ḥaṭṭath*, literally, "waters of sin"—water that served to cleanse one from sin.

The afflicted man was ordered by Ea to be released from his ban or curse. How was this effected? Recourse was had to exorcism, which was employed to drive the evil spirit out of the man. Isaiah xlvii. tells us that Babylon is the home of magic. The prophet bids her come forward with her enchantments and the multitude of her sorceries. With bitter irony he tells Babylon to trust now to her astrologers, star-gazers, and monthly prognosticators, and see whether they can be of service to her in her hour of need. Will they be able to save her from the things that shall come upon her. The Babylonians had great faith in magicians and in their power to bind the course of things and control even the power of the gods. Their aid was called for by the people in times of sickness especially. In this particular instance mentioned on the tablet above the afflicted man can only be released from the curse of madness that rests upon him, by a magician. He, by

repeating certain magic formulæ, can charm the evil spirit away, or in the words of the tablet can "release him from his ban." Every disease was considered to be the result of sin; had not this man sinned he would not have been mad. Does not this remind us of the story of the blind man in the Gospel? "And his disciples asked Jesus, saying, Rabbi, who did sin: this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" (John ix. 2.) The popular idea was that the man suffered this affliction because either himself or his parents had sinned. The paralytic mentioned in Matthew ix. 2, 3, also believed in common with the Jews that diseases were inflicted by way of punishment for sins. Job is described as having been afflicted with his terrible malady by God, and his friends endeavoured to show that it was a well-deserved punishment for his sins. He himself can recall to mind no great sins of which he was guilty, and of which his suffering could be regarded as an equivalent punishment. The belief of the friends, which was also the popular belief, was that Job suffered because he had sinned. This was the prevalent belief also among the Babylonians and the ancient Akkadians.

These latter held that there was a spirit in everything, and that it was in the power of their priests or sorcerers to charm away the evil spirit by the use of magic formulæ. The Shamanism of the remote past gave way, indeed, to the civilising influences of later times, but we find it peeping out even in the spiritual hymns of this later age. In the hymn already cited, the god Merodach is represented as the benefactor of the afflicted. He pleads with his father on behalf of the sick man, and it is through his instrumentality that the man is freed from the curse of madness. The formulæ used by the exorcists are very numerous, but the following may serve as samples:—"May the wicked curse let itself down sideways; may this man become pure and bright; into the gracious hand of his god may he return." These formulæ occur at the end of the inscription from which the hymn is taken.

Magicians are mentioned in the Old Testament. In Daniel ii. 2, five classes of them are named, and in Jeremiah xxxix. 3, the chief magician is called *rab-mag*, a word which reminds us of the Assyrian titles in 2nd Kings, chapter xviii. Rab-shakeh and Rab-saris. The magicians are called in Hebrew *magim*, a word which appears in the legendary narrative of the birth of Christ, in Matthew ii. in the Greek form μάγοι. The name given to them in Esther i. 13 is *ḥakam*, "a wise man," found also in Daniel ii. 12, in the Chaldean form *ḥakkim*. Among the Medes and Persians they formed a priestly caste and were occupied chiefly in unravelling the secrets of nature, astrology and medicine. The Messiah on his appearance was also to be recognised by the power he was supposed as a magician to possess of driving out demons, and by his influence over evil spirits. Among the most remarkable miracles ascribed to Christ are those of healing the demoniacs or those possessed by unclean spirits. He was at any rate believed to be able "by the word of his power" to cast out the demons. Such a belief may possibly have descended from the Babylonians.

GEORGE EVANS.

The Christian Reformer.

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*THE NATIONAL CHURCH ASSOCIATION.**

NO man can approach a subject such as that on which I have to speak to you to-day without a profound sense of responsibility. I earnestly hope that that sense may not only govern my own feeble utterance, but may also be present with us all throughout the course of our deliberations.

There are three principal grounds on which the motion which I have now read may be recommended to your approval—the religious, the historic, and that which represents considerations of expediency. Leaving the latter two grounds to be occupied by other speakers, I shall, with your permission, confine myself to the religious grounds, because they are infinitely the most important, and because it is well that they should be fully and boldly stated at the very outset of our movement. It is no light thing to seek to alter anything in the established position of so revered a society as the ancient Church of England, whether we be ourselves within the fold or not; and surely we ought to endeavour, in dealing with a matter so solemn as this, to raise our minds above all paltry considerations, and all clouds generated by prejudice and habit, to that serener light from which the great Founder of all the Churches Himself must regard the divisions and dissensions which exist among

* Address delivered on moving the first resolution at the meeting for the formation of the *National Church Association*, February 9, 1887. See p. 192.

His Christians. It is a call we all need, Churchmen as well as Dissenters from the Church, Dissenters as well as Churchmen.

Now I ask, first, What is the Church? It is "the whole congregation of Christian men scattered throughout the world," and in each particular nation the whole body of those who "profess and call themselves Christians." We dare give no narrower definition—though we know that scores of such *have been* given and *are* given by very holy men—when we see all around us persons who, though they differ from us, and from each other, as to forms of Church government, and as to definition of many doctrines, yet all bear, aye, and live by, the same allegiance to our common Master, and may all be known by their fruits, if we would but judge them candidly, to be inspired by His spirit. If we do narrow it, we are unlike those first Apostles who gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, when they perceived the grace that was given to them, and that He that wrought in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in Paul towards the Gentiles; we are unlike Peter, who cried, "What was I that I could withstand God?" when he saw that God gave the like gift to Cornelius and his Gentile followers as he did unto Jewish Christians.

Such, then, is the Church. And for what does the Church exist? For the maintenance and the spread of the kingdom of God upon earth. And how can it effect that? By continual warfare in the name of Christ against the sin and the misery, temporal as well as spiritual, which sadden and corrupt the world. And how is it waging that warfare? Half-heartedly, distractedly, often unsuccessfully, because Christians are so busy with defining and emphasising their differences from one another—differences which, from the nature of man's mind and circumstances, always must exist, and always will; differences in which no side is wholly right,

and all hold some imperfect fragment of truth—that they bring but half their energy, and no glow of brotherly confidence and expectation of victory, to attack the common foe.

When Xerxes, the Persian, marched to the conquest of Greece, he was at the head of a vast army, composed of various nations, differently organised, differently accoutred, and speaking different tongues. He failed miserably as it was, but what chance of success would he have had from the very outset, had those nations advanced to battle, each suspecting and contemning their neighbour on their right flank and their left, and all ignoring that they were under the guidance of one leader, and shared a common aim? Yet such is the spectacle which is offered to men and angels by the Christian Church of our own country. Why do drunkards still reel in our streets? Why does misery still rot neglected in our garrets? Why are the needy discontented, and the rich and happy, in spite of all their almsgiving, hard-hearted? Because we Christians are all so jealous of each other's beliefs and aims, so bent on sectarian glory instead of the glory of our Master, that we prefer to work on, each in his own chosen hole and corner, and will not combine to give the world a lift.

Now the Bill offered for your approval to-day proposes to attack this great evil at the root, so far as human legislation can attack it. It recognises fully and freely that differences, grave differences, of doctrine and practice must exist as they always have existed, and that they show no present prospect even of diminution; but it maintains that they are comparatively superficial, and it attempts to sink a shaft below them to that solid ground of Christian unity, which lies beneath, and, having found it, to build upon that sure foundation. In so doing the framers of it humbly believe that they are acting in the spirit of the Master.

The broad religious principle, then, on which this Bill grounds itself is this, that the belief and service which Chris-

tians hold in common is greater and more important than their differences; that the great hindrance to the efficacious spread of the Gospel is the exaggerated emphasis which is laid on these differences; and that, this being so, it is our bounden duty to lay aside that sectarianism, which is only a subtle form of selfishness, and "looking not only every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others," unite in brotherly concord to do the Master's work.

Of course, we cannot expect those to accept this principle who, whether they be Romanist or Anglican, believe that there is for the Church a divinely-revealed form of government, outside the ministrations of which there is no security. They cannot consistently admit that others who profess and call themselves Christians, but dissent from them in this particular, are on a level with themselves. They are strong and united bodies, with many holy men in each communion; but facts are against them; the evidence of more than three centuries of reformed Christendom is against them; and that evidence will go on multiplying and gathering weight as time rolls on. Neither, can they accept our principle who hold that the essence of religion lies in a right logical apprehension of a large and complex body of doctrine, and that those who differ from any of their definitions of that doctrine are in a position, which, so far from being even negatively sanctioned, ought to be proclaimed as perilous.

But, with these two exceptions, I do not see what Christians ought to hesitate to endorse the principle of this Bill. It should be welcome to all those who hold that the one thing needful is so to absorb the life of Christ that we may reproduce it, however imperfectly, in our own lives, in our relation to God, and to one another; and that "as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Such men must acknowledge

that all sections of Christendom alike hold the treasure of the Gospel in earthen vessels. The vessels vary in many things. Some are of a finer porcelain, others of a coarser clay; some are beautifully wrought, and rendered dear to the eye and the imagination by antique workmanship and the associations of the past, others have no further claims on our regard than those of honest service, but all are *vessels only*, after all; all have their use and place in the great divine household of the world, and all contain the one priceless treasure, the presence of which alone gives them their true dignity and value.

Why should we seek to perpetuate and embitter upon earth an exclusiveness which none of us, no, not the most eager controversialist, dares to imagine will be perpetuated in Heaven? We must all shake hands there, and greet one another with a Christian kiss. Such exclusiveness may do well enough for the world, it is out of place in the Church. It has risen out of our mistakes, our misunderstandings of one another, our imperfections, and our worldliness. It is a sign of feebleness, not of strength. Let us rise to a larger charity, which can tolerate difference in a brother, and not seek to mould all the world after one pattern. Right is right, and justice is justice, and love is greater than mistrust and ill will. If the views on which the Bill is based are false, then it will not stand the test of time, but will fail, as we should then all wish it to fail; but if they be right, then the principle on which this Bill is founded will some day prevail, and we, who first publicly adopted it, though we seem few and insignificant, compared with the host that are against us, and though many good men, I fear, look on us askance, shall have once more "kindled a light in England that shall not be put out."

E. H. BRADBY.

"NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

PART II.—CRITICAL.

IN the first part of this paper we attempted to give, for the most part in Mr. Drummond's own words, a fairly accurate and candid account of the philosophical position advocated in "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." But criticism of it is just as necessary as exposition, and asserts itself as soon as the mind begins to estimate the validity of the author's main line of argument.

The essential outlines, at least, of Mr. Drummond's main argument have been clearly and impartially delineated—the argument which, in the author's view, provides "religion with a new credential, and man with a truly scientific theology."

The conception of the universal identity of Law is one of the noblest that the human mind can form; and to possess such a conception, albeit only in transcendent vision, is an incalculable spiritual blessing to a man wearied with the distractions of the world, whether it be at present argumentatively invulnerable or not.

Mr. Drummond's central position, however, is fixed in the wrong sphere—in the physical rather than in the spiritual world; and this leads him to regard the whole in the light and under the aspects of the natural or physical, and to imply throughout all his argumentation too sharp and exclusive a division between the two worlds. From this cause mainly, he has failed just where he most wished to succeed; weakest wherein he would be strongest and most original, and strongest when he is only furnishing analogies, often novel and very effective, between the two spheres of matter and of spirit. In respect of analogies he is frequently vigorous

and brilliant; but in treating scientifically of the identity of Law throughout the two realms from the standpoint of the physical, his argumentation is in general confused and impotent. Not seldom an illustration does duty for argument, concealing the fissures and infirmities of his reasoning by an attractive adornment of flowering verdure.

Mr. Drummond's main position is stated in the title of his book—"Natural Law *in* the Spiritual World." This, as well as his mode of speaking of the "projection" of Natural Law into the Spiritual World, implies the mutual exclusiveness of the two worlds. "Is not," asks Mr. Richard H. Hutton, "the physical universe as a whole meant to be for man the vesture of the spiritual universe? Is not all the truest language therefore necessarily figurative; and only false when the spiritual is interpreted by the physical, instead of the physical by the spiritual?"* These words suggest the "falsehood" of Mr. Drummond's treatment of the old troublesome antithesis—the Natural and the Supernatural.

Referring to Horace Bushnell, Mr. Drummond says:—"Few men have shown more insight than Bushnell in illustrating Spiritual truth from the Natural World; but he has not only failed to perceive the analogy with regard to Law, but emphatically denies it. In the recent literature of this whole region there nowhere seems any advance upon the position of 'Nature and the Supernatural.' All are agreed in speaking of Nature *and* the Supernatural. Nature *in* the Supernatural, so far as Laws are concerned, is still an unknown truth." It is worth noting here that Mr. Drummond's criticism of Bushnell indicates some misapprehension, on his own part, of Bushnell's real position; and suggests the presence of fallacy in his own so-called "unknown truth"—"Nature *in* the Supernatural." The word "Supernatural," as thus used in contradistinction to what is Natural, introduces an element of confusion; a perceptible clearing of thought would

* *Essays*, vol. i., p. 111, 2nd Ed.

result from its disuse in the discussion of matters relative to theology and the spiritual world. The spiritual world has a nature, is natural on its own plane, as well as the material or visible world; the soul of man has a nature as well as his body—a nature, it is true, higher in scale and scope, but certainly not less real. No doubt if the physical order is called natural exclusively, and its laws natural laws exclusively, then the spiritual order, in relation thereto, will be supernatural; but it is also clear that man himself, as a spiritual being, as a member of the spiritual order, will be supernatural likewise. And is not this just what Dr. Bushnell affirms? The two spheres, he argues, the visible and the invisible, are defective alone, either needing the other as its necessary complement. "There is," Bushnell says, "a constant action and reaction between the two, and strictly speaking they are both together, taken as one, the true system of God."* Each has its own natural characteristics; each is ordered in accordance with its own nature. The word supernatural, however, has attained such general use that it can now hardly be avoided; but it is very desirable that those who avail themselves of its use in discussion should carefully guard against its abuse. Clearness of definition and consistency in the employment of the defined terms are necessary to all satisfactory argumentation. Now Mr. Drummond is certainly deficient in both these requisites—lucidity and consistency of argument. Take, for example, his phrase which he regards as expressing "an unknown truth," "Nature *in* the Supernatural." He gives no definition of the two main terms of the proposition, but leaves the reader to infer it, as best he may, from the general drift of the discussion. If Mr. Drummond means that the supernatural or spiritual order has its own characteristic condition, modes of operation, and influences—means, in short, the Nature *of* the Supernatural—then his secret has

* *Nature and the Supernatural*, p. 19, Ed. 1862.

long been an open one, and his "unknown truth" becomes a commonplace. It is a fact very important that the spiritual world is not a sphere of lawlessness and chaos, but an ordered realm of righteousness, subject everywhere to the Law of the Spirit. This fact, however, did not remain unknown until Mr. Drummond arose to disclose it to an ignorant generation; for it has been the burden of the prophetic message in every age, and is accepted by all genuine idealists as a first principle in philosophy. Emerson may be taken as a representative man. In his essay on "The Sovereignty of Ethics," he says: "Once men thought Spirit divine, and Matter diabolic; one Ormuzd, the other Ahriman. Now science and philosophy recognise the parallelism, the approximation, the unity of the two: how each reflects the other as face answers to face in a glass; nay, how the laws of both are one, or how one is the realisation." But Mr. Drummond's phrase, "Nature *in* the Supernatural," in so far as its significance can be gathered from the whole drift of the volume, is not equivalent to the phrase "Nature *of* the Supernatural." His "unknown truth" is not such a truism as that the spiritual world has a nature as well as the physical world.

It does not require full agreement with Dr. Bushnell, on the part of any reasonable man, to acknowledge the essential erroneousness of Mr. Drummond's criticism of his position; for Mr. Drummond wanders from the truth when he says that Bushnell "has not only failed to perceive the analogy with regard to Law, but emphatically denies it." Dr. Bushnell, in speaking of "Nature *and* the Supernatural," did not mean to suggest that the Supernatural as such had got no nature, no naturalness, but rather to affirm that, besides the physical system or order, "God has, in fact, erected another and higher system, that of spiritual being and government for which Nature exists, a system not under the law of cause and effect, but ruled and marshalled under

other kinds of laws, and able continually to act upon or vary the action of the processes of nature" (p. 19). There are thus resources in the universe beyond such as are represented or symbolised by the physical order; the spiritual order is vaster, richer, more various, more durable, than the physical This is substantially Dr. Bushnell's conception of the relationship between the two spheres; and, however defective in certain aspects it may be shown to be, it is far less distant from the real truth than Mr. Drummond's virtual identification of them in respect of "Natural Law"—his "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." To speak, as Mr. Drummond does, of the projections of Natural Laws into the Spiritual World, as if their action and results on a loftier plane, and with a vastly different environment, must necessarily be the same as on the physical plane, is virtually to *materialise* the Spiritual World—is surely a very loose kind of reasoning, and substitutes metaphor for solid argument.

When Mr. Drummond asks, "Is the Supernatural natural or unnatural?" it is evident that the answer must depend on the meaning ascribed to the word "natural." What does he mean? His mode of conducting his general argument suggests to the careful reader that, in affirming the "naturalness" of the supernatural, he has mainly in view the *physicalness* of the supernatural—the physical order extending itself into and throughout the super-physical realm. From this assumption, and the practical consequences which it seems to involve, most of Mr. Drummond's homiletical exhortations derive their apparent force of scientific conclusiveness; for they assume, not, as Mr. Drummond himself seems to think, the identity of Law *only* throughout the two spheres, but *the sameness of both laws and environment.* "Nature *in* the Supernatural" is a misleading phrase; the title of the volume, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," involves a mischievous fallacy. For Mr. Drummond is thinking of "Nature" and "Natural" in the physical sense;

and in this sense, without modification or explanation, ascribes them to the spiritual and supernatural world. That the physical and spiritual—or, to use the time-worn antithesis, the natural and the supernatural—are identical in their originative source and ultimate end, is the inspired conviction of a faith which "is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen"; but such a conviction is not demonstrable from Mr. Drummond's standpoint or by his mode of argument. His method, instead of exalting and enriching the physical, dealing with it as a very finite mood and moment of the Infinite, and thus regarding the lower in its identity with the higher, practically results in limiting and lowering the spiritual to the physical, the Infinite to the finite, making the higher identical with the lower. He approaches, in fact, this great question on the wrong side—the side that hides from sight the distinctive attributes of moral and spiritual life. His identity is gained less by an enlargement and enrichment of the physical order than by the impoverishment and degradation of the spiritual world; and such identity is more fatal to all real spirituality than the most complete dissimilarity between the two worlds would be —is inherently unfitted to satisfy the demands of the conscience, the aspirations of the inmost heart, the love in man that transcends the lines and modes of "Natural Law," uniting itself in fulness of fruition with the supreme Law of ove in God the Father.

"It is impossible," Dr. Martineau has said, "to work the theory of evolution upwards from the bottom. If all force is to be conceived as one, its type must be looked for in the highest and all-comprehending term; and mind must be conceived as there, and as divesting itself of some speciality at each step of its descent to a lower stratum of law, till represented at the base under the guise of simple dynamics." *

The distinctive qualities of the moral and spiritual life can

* Essay on "The Place of Mind in Nature," *Contemp. Rev.*, vol. xix., p. 617.

never be comprehended within merely physical or biological conditions; inasmuch as neither the physical nor the merely biological can ever express, along the lines of so-called "Natural Law," the sanctities of morality and the consolations of religion. To enjoy these, a man must needs rise into an ampler and a purer air, where he may indulge without reserve in the high hopes and aspirations of a divine communion, and thrill beneath the kindling touch of God within. The Spiritual World transcends immeasurably these earthly horizons, not merely co-incident with, but including in its larger compass the forms and limitations of physics or biology; and its resources can, therefore, in no satisfactory sense be realised or developed by Mr. Drummond's imagined "projection" of Natural Law into the immensities of the Super-natural. The part cannot dominate or explain the whole; nor the lower, the higher. No conjectural extension of the lines of physical law can be supposed capable of interpreting adequately the infinite possibilities of the Spiritual World. The part must be explained from the stand-point of the whole; and the physical or biological must be interpreted in the light of the Spiritual. Mr. Drummond's "unknown truth" turns out to be, not a truth at all, but only one of those half-truths or quarter-truths which are the result of loose thinking and fallacious argument, and which in the end are more misleading than a naked falsehood.

One other illustration may be given of Mr. Drummond's method of argument; and it will be drawn from his peculiar treatment of man—the spiritual and the natural man.

Mr. Drummond has an annoying habit of contradicting in one place what he has said in another—a habit hardly excusable in a writer who pretends to argue his case with scientific precision, and whose theological conclusions are clinched by the aid of modern biology. His account of man especially bristles with inconsistencies alike in word and thought; so much so that it is difficult at times

to determine the precise position he occupies. This tantalising obscurity seems to arise from diverse causes—an absence of consistency of reasoning in the various chapters, using the same word in different senses, mixing up incongruous metaphors, assuming occasionally the truth of contradictory premises and arguing from them. Of course, if Mr. Drummond professed simply to preach from biological texts, illustrating and enforcing certain aspects of the religious life under the guise of the ordinary operations of familiar biological laws, it would be hypercritical to emphasize these logical defects; but it must be remembered that he claims for his theory, or hitherto "unknown truth," the precision and authority of the scientific method. Impressive moral preaching does not always imply conclusiveness of logical reasoning, and should not be judged with scientific rigour; but in a case which professedly claims the support of the scientific method, logical inconsistencies are an evidence of serious weakness in the argument, and contradictions are fatal.

In the chapter entitled "Biogenesis," Mr. Drummond discourses at length about Life, the organic and the inorganic, the Spiritual and the Natural Man. The Law of Biogenesis affirms "that life can only come from pre-existing life," and presides over the origination of life on this earth. A form of life appears because a form of the same kind has preceded it; for only a living organism can produce a living organism. Now in order to exhibit the application of this Law of Biogenesis to the Spiritual World, Mr. Drummond finds it necessary to make a most rigid division of men into two classes—the Spiritual man and the Natural man; and to assert the spiritual incapacity of the natural man or of human nature as such. On this subject his teaching seems to represent the common Calvinism gone wild with a biological craze. He adduces Biblical phrases and metaphors—such as "born of the flesh," "born of the Spirit," "born of water and of the Spirit," "to be carnally minded is *Death*,"

"thou hast a name to live but art *Dead*"—and treats them as if they were the exact equivalent in Religion of the most modern biological doctrines in Science. Only those phrases and metaphors, however, which suit his purpose does he select; others with a different tendency he leaves unnoticed. So far, therefore, his treatment of the Bible is incomplete, unscientific, inconclusive. Moreover, it is noticeable that he does not deal fairly with those very phrases which he does cull and use from the Bible. "It is clear," Mr. Drummond remarks, "that a remarkable harmony exists here between the Organic World as arranged by Science and the Spiritual World as arranged by Scripture. We find one great Law guarding the thresholds of both worlds, securing that entrance from a lower sphere shall only take place by a direct regenerating act, and that emanating from the world next in order above. There are not two laws of Biogenesis, one for the natural, the other for the spiritual; one law is for both. Wherever there is Life, Life of any kind, this same law holds." Is there not here a looseness in the reasoning? Is it the case that the same law obtains within both spheres *in the same sense?* For example, if the law of Biogenesis holds in "the Organic World as arranged by Science," and in "the Spiritual World as arranged by Scripture," *in the same sense*, then, one living organism should produce another living organism of the same kind; and just as each kind of physical creature reproduces its own kind, so Christians should be spiritually born of Christians. But is this either "Scriptural" or acceptable to Mr. Drummond? Each man, for himself, has to receive directly the quickening Spirit of God; he is "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, *nor of the will of man*, but of God." In the first case, a physical organism reproduces a living organism of its own kind; in the second case, life is generated by direct spiritual communion between the spirit of man and the Divine Spirit. In fact this spiritual life consists in the

continuous enjoyment of a Divine fellowship, and in the incessant endeavour to live worthily of it alike as regards man and God. To reason therefore from physical generation and reproduction of species to the awakening in the human soul of the sense of God, the responsive sensitiveness to the Divine operations, is, to say the least, not logically permissible. The same law may hold ultimately for both, life coming everywhere from life; but the law assuredly does not hold for both *in the same sense.* The process of operation is not identical in the case of both; the fashion of the law is modified according to the diversities of its embodiment and environment. At best there is only a slight analogy, but no such identity as Mr. Drummond's argument requires; and, besides, he loses sight of the fact that the higher form of the Law of Biogenesis is found on the plane where God and man meet in a common fellowship, not amid the phenomena of biological science.

Further, in speaking of the Natural and the Spiritual man or, the non-Christian and the Christian, Mr. Drummond says: "The distinction between them is the same as that between the Organic and the Inorganic, the living and the dead;" and instances "the difference between a crystal and an organism, a stone and a plant." He says again that "the passage from the Natural World to the Spiritual World is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut, no mineral can open it; so the door from the natural to the spiritual is shut, and no man can open it. This world of natural men is staked off from the Spiritual World by barriers which have never yet been crossed from within. No organic change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of civilisation can endow any single human soul with the attribute of Spiritual Life. The Spiritual World is guarded from the world next in order beneath by a law of Biogenesis —*except a man be born again . . . except a man be born*

of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God."

It would surely be difficult to beat anywhere, within the same compass, the fallacious reasoning displayed in these sentences. Was there ever more utter misconception of any subject than is expressed in those words which illustrate the relation of the natural man to the Spiritual World by the relation of a mineral to the organic world? Is man as man, relatively to the Spiritual World, the analogue of a mere mineral relatively to the organic world? To put the question thus is to detect the fallaciousness of the illustration. If the illustration has any relevancy at all, it denies to man as man the possession of a spiritual nature, an innate aptitude for God; which possession, however, Mr. Drummond quietly assumes in his chapter on Degeneration, in order to show that by neglecting his spiritual functions and faculties a man may gradually lose them. But if man as such is relatively no better than a mineral, how did any natural man ever become spiritual? How did any one ever come to know of any fairer world above him? Can a mineral know that it is a mineral, and yet remain a mineral? A mineral is not endowed inherently with vitality, or rather with capacity for vitality; but man, as revealed in all the forms of his higher history, is by right of nature a spiritual being, bearing in his heart restless yearnings after God, fitted to receive consciously the intimations and self-evidencing inward witness of the Divine Spirit. In him the spiritual and physical are not mutually exclusive, but united in the bonds of a common life and fellowship. How else can any man be blamed for not obeying the voice and the law of the Spirit? A mineral cannot be blamed for remaining in the inorganic kingdom; and why should man be blamed for remaining in the "Natural World," if he is relatively like a mineral? The truth is, Mr. Drummond is the victim of his own metaphor; he forgets that it is only a very crude

metaphor, and makes it do duty as an argument. Were his mode of reasoning valid, it would cut away the roots of man's spiritual well-being, rendering him incapable of any sense or discernment of God. For were man as man, "the natural man," not relatively much more than a mineral, he could receive no direct revelation from God, nor become liable to the danger and guilt of moral and spiritual degeneration.

Mr. Drummond's biological religion is really a kind of disguised irreligion, leaving no room in human nature as such for the inborn desire and growth of the soul towards God. His version of the origination of the religious life makes it appear something magical, at once unscientific and unspiritual. Whatever is needed must be added arbitrarily from the outside. He refrains, indeed, from describing "the great miracle by which this [human] protoplasm is to be conformed to the image of the son"; but he says that "owing to the peculiar characteristics of this protoplasm an additional and exceptional provision is essential." He has at length to restore that which he at first took away or failed to recognise.

According to Mr. Drummond, again, God's love for man is a very restricted affection; not a Father's love for all his children, but only an unfatherly liking for a few favoured ones. He finds undiluted Calvinism in this scientific Gospel. "Many are called, but few chosen" is a text on which Mr. Drummond is very emphatic; but in his eager emphasis he overlooks the universal affirmations of the Divine Fatherhood in Christ. In truth, on the lines of the argument of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," there can be no real discernment of the Fatherhood of God and the sonhood of man; there can be declared only a Gospel without good news to man as man, a Christianity without the Spirit of Christ. "That 'few are chosen,'" says Mr. Drummond, "indicates a deeper view of the relation of Christ's Kingdom to the world." What, it may be asked, is this deeper view? "It

is an open secret," is the reply, "to be read in a hundred analogies from the world around, that of the millions of possible entrants for advancement in any department of Nature the number ultimately selected is small . . . . The analogies from the waste of seed, of pollen, of human lives, are too familiar to be quoted. . . . A comprehensive view of the whole field of Nature discloses the fact that the circle of the chosen slowly contracts as we rise in the scale of being. Some mineral, but not all, becomes vegetable; some vegetable, but not all, becomes animal; some animal, but not all, becomes human; some human, but not all, becomes divine. Thus the area narrows. At the base is the mineral, most broad and simple; the spiritual at the apex, smallest, but most highly differentiated. So form rises above form, kingdom above kingdom. *Quantity decreases as quality increases.*"

The chain of reasoning has an appearance of strength, link within link, inseverable; but it is in reality a mere rope of sand. It is an indication of the completeness with which Mr. Drummond has lowered and narrowed the Spiritual World to the working of biological laws. This may be the logical result of finding "Nature *in* the Supernatural"; but this brand-new biological religion is not the religion of the love of God and the grace of Jesus Christ. Can the soul's travail of the Son of Man be abundantly satisfied with the felicity of a few aristocratic specimens of spiritual humanity? "Thus the area narrows!" Why should it not much rather broaden? Shall it be said that a narrowing area of human goodness and happiness is a satisfactory close to the unnumbered agonisings of our race? or that it can be the legitimate consummation of the work of seeking and saving the lost? "A tree is known by its fruit"; and if these are the fair consummate flower and fruit of this religion, according to Biology, then, instead of recommending and establishing it, they contain its most emphatic condemnation.

JAMES BELL.

THE UNITARIANS OF LONDON BETWEEN FORTY AND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

II.—(*Conclusion.*)

[A paper read at a meeting of the Rosslyn Hill Congregational Society.]

I SHOULD now like to say something about the point of view occupied by the former generation in regard to questions connected with religion, and about the changes which have taken place. This is a subject on which some of the present generation have very vague and incorrect notions. Indeed, it has often seemed to me that there are some Unitarians who have more knowledge of almost everything else than the real views and feelings of their Unitarian predecessors; and I have sometimes thought that a course of reading in the old Unitarian divines might form a profitable part of Unitarian education. It would, at all events, prevent no small amount of misconception and misrepresentation; but it would do more, it would lead us to cherish the memory of our fathers with increased respect and affection. I am quite sure that if there were a Belsham among us now, the weight of his character and ministry would be felt as it used to be; and if there were an Aspland he would at once take his place as a natural leader; and if there were a Madge, his simple and forcible and eloquent preaching would have all its old charm and power.

More than once it has been stated in our own public Press that among the principal changes which have taken place latterly, the appendage of "through Jesus Christ," or "in the name of Jesus Christ," is no longer regarded as a condition

of the hearing of prayer. It is quite true our fathers were accustomed to pray "in the name of Christ," or "through Jesus Christ." It was, however, by no means invariably the practice, and certainly it was not because they supposed for a moment that the heavenly Father would not listen to His earthly children on any other condition, but because they liked in this way to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christ for their faith, and to express their desire that their prayers might be in his spirit. The idea that there is no direct access to the Father of our spirits was as alien to them as it can possibly be to any of us. I might mention other instances in which views have been attributed to our fathers which I am sure were not theirs.

There is, however, one respect in which they differed from many modern Unitarians, viz., in the belief in the miracles. This belief was almost universal. Christianity was held to be a Divine revelation, miraculously attested. Not that the New Testament was regarded as an infallible record; but it was believed to have been written by men who had competent knowledge and honest intentions, and whose account of the teachings of Christ and the chief incidents in his ministry might safely be trusted, historically, excepting in unimportant details. Especial stress was laid on the resurrection of Christ—some even regarding it as the main basis of hope in a future life.

The commentaries of Rosenmüller and Kuinoel, Schleusner's Lexicon of the New Testament Greek, and the labours of Griesbach and others, in connection with the text of the New Testament, were held in high estimation by some; but the writings of the later learned theologians and Biblical scholars of Germany were unknown to our London ministers, who looked with some mistrust on German influence, as represented by what was called the new school, under the leadership of James Martineau, John James Tayler, and John Hamilton Thom. The difference, then, was not so much as

to whether there had been miracles, as on the way of regarding them, and other questions. I was present at the aggregate meeting held in Essex Street, and remember the animadversion excited by James Martineau's speech. I remember, too, a little scene, when Mr. Thom preached before the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. It was supposed by some that Mr. Thom was inclined to disparage the value of theological convictions; and, knowing this, he was careful to express himself clearly on that point. When the vote of thanks for his sermon was proposed, a leading minister from the country got up, and said he must confess he differed from the preacher, and then proceeded to explain wherein he differed—viz., in laying more stress on the importance of settled convictions. Mr. Thom answered, "I thought I said so-and-so," and repeated views very much in harmony with those of the speaker, who replied, "Ah, I did not hear very well, and I must acknowledge that I agreed with all I heard." Mr. Thom arose once more and said, "If our friend agrees with all he heard, and differs only from what he did not hear——" The close of the sentence was lost in murmurs of apology from the objector, and in murmurs of amusement from the meeting. Though, however, the difference between the old school and the new was not without its effect, it led to no alienation of personal esteem and affection. I recollect the intense interest and warm sympathy universally excited by the Liverpool controversy, and the rejoicing throughout our body that we had such champions of our common faith as the Liverpool ministers.

The question of miracles was brought into prominence by the writings of Theodore Parker, who, following some German critics, had applied to the New Testament the principle which Niebuhr had applied to ancient pagan history—viz., that allowance must be made for the tendency of the older writers to surround great men with a supernatural halo, and

to ascribe to them superhuman powers. Theodore Parker's view was adopted by the Rev. Thomas Wood, minister at Brixton, whose sermon on the subject was published. The opposite side was advocated by Dr. Hutton, in two sermons, which are before me as I write, and by Mr. Hincks, of Stamford Street, who also published his sermon. In the preface to a volume of the *Christian Reformer* of that period, Mr. Aspland expressed himself strongly on the same side. And in the funeral sermon for Mr. Aspland, Mr. Madge uttered, in tones of impassioned earnestness, which are still fresh in my memory, the following words: "There is a party among us—bearing our name, at least—I trust a very small party—who advocate principles which seem to me to be subversive of the very foundations of our Christian faith. I confess, my brethren, that I understand not the Christianity which is disrobed of its miraculous vesture. A gospel without the sanction of divine authority, without the impress of a supernatural origin, unencircled by the radiance of a celestial light, without the glory of the resurrection, without the triumph of the ascension, without the descent of the Comforter, would be no gospel to me; would, to my mind, be no longer the bearer of glad tidings of great joy. For what is the highest human wisdom when compared with the wisdom that cometh from above? What are the brightest inspirations of human genius when compared with those which come down upon us direct from the Majesty on high?" It will be seen that in the judgment of the London ministers, between forty and fifty years ago, to give up the miracles would be to deny the historic truth of the Gospels, and to take from Christianity its divine credentials. Mr. Thomas Wood, finding the general feeling strongly against him, resigned his office as minister, and, I think, retired to the banks of the Thames. When I was staying with our friend, Mr. Edwin Field, at Wargrave or Pangbourne, he made a point of my getting into a favourite little boat, named

Dingy, which he told me was built by his friend, Mr. Thomas Wood, formerly minister at Brixton.

The question of miracles is one on which a real change has taken place; for not only are there many who have given up the miracles and yet retain their Christian belief, but there are also many who believe in miracles, and yet do not lay so much stress on them as was laid formerly, feeling that the divine credentials of the Gospel are rather to be sought in an inward witness than in anything external, and preferring to identify Christianity with the Sermon on the Mount, the two great commandments, and the life and spirit of Christ, rather than with the feeding of the five thousand and the calming of the tempest. There are some, moreover, who occupy a sort of middle ground, not insisting on this miracle or that, and feeling that its proof or disproof is alike beyond our power, but deeply impressed with a sense of that background of wonder which is associated in their minds with the work and influence of Christ.

I am aware that the strong language employed by our fathers on this question has been regarded as savouring of exclusiveness, and as inconsistent with their professions as upholders of religious liberty. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the new view came upon them as a shock, and appeared to them to jeopardise what was dearest to them. At the same time, I am sure they would have recognised to the fullest extent the right of any man, who held this, or any other view, to maintain it and do what he could to promote it. They were accustomed to treat the Jew and the Deist and the Atheist as having in every respect equal rights with themselves.

Some years ago there were several letters in the *Inquirer* reflecting on the conduct of Unitarian ministers towards Theodore Parker during his visit to England in 1844. I have reproached myself for not overcoming in this instance, as in some others, my disinclination to take part in any such

correspondence; for it was manifest to me that the writers of the letters were without a knowledge of the facts of the case. It was said that during the whole of Theodore Parker's stay only two or three ministers asked him to preach. If ministers are obliged to ask any man to preach, what becomes of their liberty? But what were the facts of this particular case? I know them; I was then myself a minister in London; I differed from Theodore Parker in some things which were of importance to me, and I was indignant at his description of Unitarian ministers in a work recently published; but I felt the kindling power of his writings, and used to read them with avidity for the light and help I found in them; I also admired his courageous advocacy of the slave; and there were few men whom I more desired to see and hear. But what really happened? He slipped through London without letting any of us know that he was here. It may be asked whether if it had been known he would have been invited to preach. It so happens that I am able to answer this question in the affirmative; for I recollect meeting some of the London ministers a little while afterwards, when Dr. Hutton said, "Theodore Parker has been in London; I wish I had known it, I would have asked him to preach." Perhaps Theodore Parker thought the London ministers would not care to have him amongst them; perhaps his feeling towards them was not very sympathetic. Be this as it may, he gave them no opportunity of asking him to their pulpits or their homes.

Looking back to these bygone times, I cannot see that our fathers were unfaithful to the principle of religious liberty, which, as I understand it, allows every man to uphold with all his might what he thinks true and important, and to associate with those to whom he is drawn by agreement and sympathy, but claims equal rights for all. Mr. Madge said he could not understand Christianity disrobed of miracle; but I am persuaded he would not have refused

the Christian name to anybody who conscientiously took it upon himself; he would only have said, "I can't understand it;" and I am quite sure he never dreamt of the exclusion of any good man from the kingdom of heaven. Our fathers were as much opposed to the imposition of creeds as we can be, and as firm in their adherence to free trusts. On the one hand, they were earnest supporters of catholic emancipation; and on the other hand, when William Hone was tried in a court of justice, for what was represented as a blasphemous libel, Robert Aspland stood by him as a chief counsellor and friend, and as an upholder of religious liberty.

It seems to me that in some respects these men understood and carried out the principle of religious liberty better than it is understood and carried out by some of us now. They were, I think, less uneasy than some of us are at diversity in forms of worship. A liturgy was used at Essex Street and at Little Portland Street Chapels, while there was free prayer at Hackney and Carter Lane; and it was considered quite enough that each congregation should have the kind of service it liked best. No one at Hackney appeared to be disturbed in his mind at the use of a liturgy in Essex Street, and no one in the Essex Street congregation at the preference for free prayer at Hackney. For my own part, I judge of the liberality of those with whom I am in habitual intercourse by whether or not they restrict the free action of my own mind; and I can truly say, that at no time in my life have I felt more completely free to say what I thought and take my own course, than I felt when I had the privilege of associating with the leading Unitarians of London between forty and fifty years ago.

From what has been said it will be manifest that these fathers of ours had a strong sense of Scriptural authority. They relied for their doctrinal views on the New Testament, rationally interpreted as they would say. They were fond of dwelling on the mutual support afforded by reason and

Scripture. Believing that truth as well as grace came by Jesus Christ, and that the New Testament is a faithful, though not an infallible record of Christian teaching, they were prepared to accept the letter of Scripture very much as it stands, and to defend their views, both with the artillery of broad principles and the bayonet charge of texts. To acknowledge, as a distinguished American divine has acknowledged, that if the controversy between Unitarianism and orthodoxy depended on Scriptural evidence alone, orthodoxy would have the advantage, and still to remain a Unitarian, would have seemed to them inconsistent. They did not give to each book a separate consideration, and trace in the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles a later phase of belief than that of the Synoptic Gospels, but took the New Testament as a whole, and maintained that the passages adduced in favour of orthodoxy may be more easily made to accord with Unitarian views than the passages adduced by Unitarians can with the views of the orthodox. Though they opposed the theory of plenary inspiration, they relied on the clear teaching of Scripture as revealed truth; and, as I have said, they were strenuous in upholding the alliance of Scripture and reason; a very common method of treating the subjects of the pulpit was to ask first, what does reason teach, and secondly, what is the teaching of Scripture; and they were satisfied that the answer was essentially the same.

Believing that a future life was assured to us as by a direct message from God, they were free from all doubts on this point. I mention this especially, because in a sermon of my own, written many years ago, there is the statement that in no instance in my ministrations to the bereaved had I ever found it necessary to say anything in support of this great and ennobling faith. I am far from being able to say the same at the present time. It may be that the existence of agnosticism has had something to do with the change; I have noticed that some, who know nothing of agnostics or

their writings, have lost much of their firmness of belief from the feeling that there are eminent men who say we can know nothing about God or a hereafter; and I think agnosticism is very likely to exercise a wider influence through this vague feeling, than through being met more fully face to face.

The conventional way in which the word "sin" was frequently used caused some reserve in the use of it by the older Unitarians. A woman, not over-scrupulous in paying her debts, expressed in my house her great satisfaction and thankfulness that her husband had become fully convinced of his "sinnership." Of course, the word "sin" was used among us, though not so much as it is now. I recollect that, when our good friend Mr. Cockran was about to begin his most valuable work at Spicer Street, a letter by him was shown to me by the then Secretary of the London Domestic Mission Society, with the remark, "The only word in it I do not quite like is *sin*." But in truth, virtue and vice, righteousness and wickedness, or any other synonyms cannot adequately represent the thought and feeling expressed by "holiness" and "sin."

Looking back to the state of things between forty and fifty years ago, I feel that a real change, which I cannot but regard as a development, has taken place in regard to the witness within our own souls to Christianity and religion in general. The author of the "Religio Medici" says: "Thus there are two Books from whence I collect my Divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant, Nature, that universal and publick Manuscript, that lies expans'd unto the eyes of all."* Of these two books, the Bible and the book of Nature, I heard much in my early days; but not much was said as to the light and help we may gain from the Divine within us in apprehending the Divine above us. I do not mean that what is called internal evidence was ignored;

* *Rel. Med.*, § 16. *Ed.* 1686.

but it was not set forth with anything like the clearness and force with which it has been set forth more recently, or indeed from the same point of view; what is thought and felt in this respect now belongs manifestly to an altered phase of faith. If we were called upon to state the foundation of our religious belief, I think many of us would lay great stress on the possession of a religious nature as a pledge of the reality of religion; on our moral responsibility as involving a belief both in God and a hereafter, since there are none on earth competent to call us fully to account for our stewardship, and it is manifest that retribution is incomplete in this world; on human love as having its source in a Divine fountain, and as evidence of our participation in the Divine nature; and on will as ultimate cause. For the clearness of our conceptions of this inward testimony, I need not remind my hearers how much we are indebted to our revered friend, and father in the faith, Dr. Martineau; and I think there can be few who will not agree with me in feeling that we can hardly overestimate the value of the vantage ground on which we are thus placed. It leaves us comparatively independent of external credentials and of historical exactness, of questions of miracles and the results of Biblical criticism. At the same time, it leads us with a fresh reverence to the feet of Christ, to "the glorious company of the apostles," and "the goodly fellowship of the prophets"; for how is it possible that we can be conscious of a revelation of God within our own souls, and not seek to know what has been revealed in the souls of those who are far above ourselves in character, in insight, in spiritual gifts, and who for this reason occupy a point of view immeasurably higher than our own?

Through this change of course increased prominence has been given to the subject of the spirit. The Spirit of God is felt to be a living spirit in our midst, still working and revealing—it is to us the life of the affections and of righteous-

ness. That word "inspiration" is no longer confined so much as it used to be to the great teachers of old, but is applied also to ourselves, as expressing the secret of all our spiritual understanding, and of all the higher and holier moods and aspirations of our own minds. Not that in the former times the operation of the spirit was not recognised; but it was more connected with what were called special dispensations, and less with our common human nature and our common human lot. These were supposed to belong rather to the *order* of Providence. I know that in my own sermons and prayers I dwell much more on the influence of the divine mind on the human, and on the living spirit of God as the source of all goodness and piety, than I used to do in the early part of my ministry; and I think I cannot be wrong in my belief that it is the same with most of my brother ministers. For myself, my prayer of prayers, the one prayer which I should wish to keep if only one were allowed to me, is that God would breathe into me more of that life which can come only from himself, and which I need day by day for the sustenance and nourishment of my soul, as I need daily bread for the support of my bodily frame.

I have thus, my friends, endeavoured to revive a picture which has seemed to me in danger of fading away too soon. If there are any present whose memory goes back as far as that frosty morning in January, 1838, when I came as a boy-student to London, and who have in their minds as distinct a picture as I have in mine of the Unitarians in London at that time, they will judge how far I have succeeded in my object, and I doubt not they will confirm the general fidelity of my account. It cannot be expected that most of you should take the same interest in the men of whom I have spoken, which those of us take who knew them well, and loved and honoured them. But it is natural that we should all wish to know something of our predecessors, and should not forget those who laid the foundation on which we are

building; and not the less because they left us free to build in our own way, and put no constraint on us to build just in the lines which they themselves marked out. It would be ungrateful in me if I were personally insensible of the kindness I received from them. Though I came among them a very young man, there was no instance in which any one of them said to me, either in words or by his manner, "Young man, you are quite inexperienced, and have almost everything to learn; but keep your proper place, and you will find us willing to give you the counsel and assistance you need." From the first I was welcomed into friendly fellowship, in which there was no interruption till, one after another, all these my elder brethren passed away from this world. They have passed away; but I certainly think they are worthy to be kept in remembrance by us all. So far as there may be difference between us and them, it has arisen for the most part from considerations which had hardly presented themselves—from new factors which have now in some respects altered the aspect of certain Biblical and religious questions. Such a change will always go on; but these men were truly our predecessors—they were on the same road with ourselves; and if I were asked for a sample of our ministry at its best during the present century, it would seem to me to show a strange want either of knowledge or of appreciation not to include Robert Aspland, Thomas Madge, and Dr. Hutton.

I have referred to the changes which have taken place in point of view, and in some of which I rejoice; but I think there are some respects in which those who preceded us had an advantage over ourselves. Partly from their habit of meeting more frequently in social intercourse, and partly perhaps from the fact that there was less of transition in their time than in ours, they understood one another better than we do. They had a common vocabulary, and words employed by them were almost invariably taken in the sense

intended. I confess that latterly I have been sometimes astonished and pained at finding a new and objectionable meaning attributed to expressions familiar to me from my childhood, as if the old "family traditions" were either unknown, or set at nought. In a world where everything changes there will of course be some modification in the interpretation and use of words; but it seems to me worth while for our younger ministers to make themselves acquainted with what their fathers meant by what they said, and I think that those who join our ministry from other religious bodies should look a little to our parentage and line of descent, and ask themselves whether they are in general harmony and sympathy with our faith and spirit. If there be this general harmony and sympathy they will, I think, have no cause to complain of burdensome traditions.

Those of us who are no longer young must have felt the truth of Longfellow's words:—

> The stranger at my fireside cannot see
> The forms I see, or hear the sounds I hear;
> He but perceives what *is*; while unto me
> All that *has been* is visible and clear.

These words, with a slight alteration, are applicable to the feeling awakened in my mind by these reminiscences of the Unitarians of London between forty and fifty years ago.

THOMAS SADLER.

CANON WILBERFORCE, HIS BISHOP, AND CONVOCATION.

WHEN the Rev. Brooke Lambert preached from the pulpit of a Baptist minister, nearly two years ago, little notice was taken of the proceeding. The Church Press had long surrendered Mr. Lambert's reputation for orthodox churchmanship; there was no Bishop of London to interfere in the matter; and Dr. Clifford had too much good taste to make a great cackling either before or after the appearance of an Anglican clergyman in his conventicle. When Mr. Haweis was about to preach in Dr. Parker's "City Temple," a brief excitement was raised after the fashion of the "mysterious" advertisement, that announces continuously for some weeks beforehand THE COMING WONDER, and then at last THE WONDER HAS COME—viz., some marvellous invention in the way of soap, or fireworks, or screaming toys, as the case may be. But the excitement came to an unsatisfactory termination, not without bathos, when the expectant hearers were informed that because of something which the Bishop had written to Mr. Haweis, but which he was not at liberty to tell them, he had decided not to preach in the Temple, and if they wanted to know what he had to say for himself on the subject they must go to his own church and hear him. Bishop Dowden's action towards the Bishop and the Canon, who were about to preach in Presbyterian Churches in Edinburgh, is of no legal import, as a Scotch bishop has only the same sort of authority as is possessed by the Wesleyan minister in his own circuit—*i.e.*, the "spiritual power" which his own church may confer upon him. But the latter case has had results of more than legal importance in the vigorous letter it has provoked from Canon Fleming, who tells the Bishop plainly: "Your course of action, both towards Bishop Wordsworth

and towards myself, appears to me to be unreasoning and unreasonable." But the Canon has yielded nevertheless to the Bishop's request, and turned back from his intention.

That these are feeble movements, from which no great result seems likely to follow, we must even grant to the Liberationist on the one hand, with his great scheme for secularising one-half of the property of the National Church and sectarianising the other half, and so putting an end to strife; and to the rigorous Churchman on the other hand, with his great scheme for compelling all the world to come in by absolutely refusing to have any dealings with those who remain outside. Such abortive efforts will not only fail to stem, they will not even perceptibly affect, the great tide of ecclesiastical movement; whether it be ultimately tending in the direction of disestablishment of all religion, or the confirmed establishment of a narrow sacerdotalism, or the establishment of a grand national Christianity in place of a narrow phase of Christianity. A few opponents of the Anglican Church may be made less bitter in their feelings towards it by friendly overtures of this kind on the part of its clergy; a few, more bitter by their indignation against its bishops. But they indicate, rather than affect, the tide.

But the action of Canon Wilberforce in preaching in the Albion Congregational Chapel, at Southampton, on the last Sunday in the old year, has been raised from the category of these comparatively insignificant proceedings, and is likely to make a lasting impression, and to have important results. At least if the Canon has the courage of his own convictions, and the character which befits his name, and follows up his own words, his action will take its place as one of the landmarks in the development of English ecclesiastical affairs.

There is nothing very remarkable in the circumstances of the act itself. The minister of the Albion Chapel, looking round for some means of enticing the unwilling and suspicious "poor and maimed and lame and blind" to come in

and partake of the feast which is prepared for them, had hit upon the plan of asking the "friends, brethren, kinsmen, and rich neighbours" to stay away, in order that there might be sure to be room enough for the poor strangers, and the latter when they came might have no reason to fear that they were regarded as intruders. In other words he announced a special service on the last Sunday evening in each month, when strangers were invited to come and the regular congregation was especially invited to stay away. Almost anything a little unusual is sufficient in this age to attract a curious crowd; and a more harmless scheme than this it would be difficult to imagine. True to his *bonâ fide* purpose, the minister, even when a Canon of the Church consented to preach at one of these services, made no announcement of the coming event lest the temptation should prove too great for his own congregation, and they should on this special occasion return to their usual places and leave no room for the disappointed visitors. Canon Wilberforce, then, preached on Sunday evening, Dec. 26th, in a Congregational chapel. As it happened, he was prevented by other engagements from being present at the devotional service, and simply delivered a sermon to the assembled congregation. When we remember the zeal, seasoned with inaccuracy, by which so many persons are moved whenever they hear of any preacher who in his wish to obey God has omitted to ask the permission of man, we are not surprised to find that "several persons, both clergy and laity," immediately wrote to the Bishop to inform him that Canon Wilberforce had been "preaching and otherwise officiating in a Congregational chapel."

The Bishop of Winchester, believing the course which Canon Wilberforce had taken to be both illegal and undesirable, wrote to him on December 30 a fatherly remonstrance. Of the spirit and tone of the Bishop's letter, and of his second letter on January 12 in answer to the Canon's reply, it is impossible to speak too highly. He simply states, without any

threat, what he believes to be actually the legal aspect of the question, and then passes at once to the consideration of the principles which he holds are involved; and his letters are written in a spirit of charity which even the narrowness of his ecclesiastical position cannot altogether conceal. He does, indeed, to use his own words, "hold the theory of Dissenters to be untenable, and their organisation defective, and refuse to acknowledge it as sound and sufficient," but he does this "without any unkindness or disrespect for them." "I have no scruple," he says, "in joining in worship—I have often done so—with Nonconformists or Roman Catholics. Their fellowship 'with the Father, and with His Son, Jesus Christ,' abundantly entitles us to communicate with them, not only socially or for moral and religious purposes (such as in Bible Societies, for the cause of moral and religious education, &c.), but also in social prayer. But all this does not justify us in breaking down all lines of division, except in the legitimate way of striving to unite all in the one body of the one Church of Christ." We do not doubt the Bishop's sincerity when he says, "I am at least as earnestly longing for union among Christians as you can be;" and when he reminds Canon Wilberforce, "you know perfectly well that I never speak of the Dissenters as heretics, that I never doubt the union to Christ, or spiritual life, of pious Dissenters."

But this spirit of charity, of real brotherly love towards all men, is compatible with the very narrowest and most formal conception of the Christian Church. No doubt if the Bishop himself had to lay down the limits of the Church of Christ he would include the Greek Church and the Roman Church, as well as the Anglican; but the definition and the description which he actually gives certainly exclude the former two and leave only the Anglican Church as itself the Church of Christ, neither more nor less. He says:—

"There are certain principles of the English Church which she has held almost throughout her history, and which, but for her,

would have been probably lost sight of in the world. One is that the Church of Christ, not only an invisible spiritual company, but the visible living organism, is a gift of God, and has lived on in an unbroken continuity from the days of our Lord's bodily presence to this day. So the Church is from above, not from beneath; and it is not possible for a single man, or body of men, in recent times to constitute a new Church at their own pleasure. Another is that, though the Church is Divine, it has yet human elements, and so may require pruning—prudent and careful pruning—if it runs into excessive or unhealthy growth.

"Unless these two principles are true the Church of England is indefensible; her very *raison d'être* is gone. The Church as one with the Church of the New Testament and the primitive ages; the Church as reformed (when corrupted) on the exact model of the primitive body; these two are the pillars on which she rests. To give these up is to give up all, for if they are not sound the Church of England cannot be defended, either (1) for having separated herself from communion with the Roman Patriarch, or (2) for not simply taking her stand as one of a number of Protestant sects."

The Church of Christ as *a visible living organism*, that has lived on in *unbroken continuity*, the Church as *one with the Church of the New Testament and the primitive ages*, the Church as *reformed* (*when corrupted*) *on the exact model of the primitive body*, can scarcely include the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican communions; and besides, the Bishop himself deprecates the idea of preaching in a Roman Catholic chapel as much as that of preaching in an Independent chapel. What then is left, as the "visible living organism," but the Anglican Church alone? *

To preach to those who are outside this Church in their own places of worship is, in the opinion of the Bishop of Winchester, to manifest "indifference to the best and truest

* It must be confessed we are reduced to this by the elimination of every other possibility rather than by the description of it as "reformed on the exact model of the primitive body." If it be so reformed, and if private patronage, sale of livings, appropriation of seats, the prohibition of any prayers save those contained in the Anglican Liturgy, or issued by an archbishop, the recital of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the prohibition of preaching in any unconsecrated place, and especially of preaching in a congregation of Nonconformists, are apostolic institutions, what is the meaning of the cry for reform which is heard more loudly from within the Church than from without?

interests of the Church, and of the faith and truth of Christ."

Canon Wilberforce, in his reply to his Bishop, deals very shortly with the legal aspect of the question at issue, declaring that if the opinion of "two eminent barristers," that it is contrary to law "for a clergyman of the Church of England to take part as an officiating minister in a service of Nonconformists wherever held," be really correct as the Bishop thus gives it, then "A law so quenching to the spirit so cramping to the liberties of the clergy, and so denationalising to the Church, would only require to be brought into the light of these days of growing toleration and charity to be consigned to the limbo of extinct disabilities."

He then goes at once to the principle in question. He declares himself to be "a loyal son of the Church of England, and brought up in the straitest sect of High Churchmen." He says, "I have never hesitated to declare that I know of no organisation calling itself a Church, to compare with the Church of England. . . . If she be but true to herself, and at the same time courageous, expansive, liberal, and tolerant, she may be the rallying ground of Christendom in days of disintegration and peril." He would not "tamper with one of her grand traditions," or "lower her standard of dogmatic teaching," or "sacrifice one syllable of the sacred deposit of the truth committed to her," no, not even if by so doing he could "entice every Nonconformist in England into her noble communion." "For the truth," he says, "is not ours but God's." And it is this very fact of Canon Wilberforce's undoubted orthodoxy and strict High Churchmanship that constitutes the importance of his declaration:—

"Nevertheless I am constrained to believe that there is a bond of spiritual union which far overreaches and transcends the boundaries of the Church of England, and that thousands who are descended from those who in days gone by conscientiously separated from the Church of England, though they are not in communion externally with us, are yet built into that spiritual fabric of which Christ is the chief corner-stone, which is the Holy Catholic Church. . . . .

"If the Lord Jesus Christ were to-morrow visibly to return and call to Himself His Church, His Body, is there any one in his senses who believes that in this country it would only be members of the Church of England that He would call? . . . Is it not certain that that Church would not be conterminous with any earthly or visible organisation, but would include all in heaven or earth who hold the Head? And if this would be true in the event of the Archangel's trumpet sounding to-morrow, it must have been true upon that Sunday night when I was preaching in the Albion Chapel; and if I refuse to recognise it, and consider many of His own to be outside the pale of His Body because they walk not with us, while they cast out devils in His name, and are doing, and doing well, half the Christian work of this country, it is I, and not they, who am guilty of the sin of schism. . . . .

"Given a man validly baptized with water, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, thoroughly awakened to his privileges as a child of God, humbly living a consecrated spirit-baptized life, and yet not a member of the Church of England, what is the position of that man before his God? . . . . If his standing before God be allowed, I would contend that any Act of Parliament or commandment of men that would hinder an accredited minister of the National Church from 'preaching or otherwise officiating' where he and those like-minded meet for worship must be not 'from above, but from beneath.' . . . .

"I am convinced in the depth of my soul that the faith and truth of Christ are honoured and magnified by my action in this case. I firmly believe that one main direction in which the Holy Ghost is working in this our day is against exclusiveness and in the direction of the freest spiritual communion between those who differ as to methods and definitions of the faith, and that no English Churchman does honour to the 'faith and truth of Christ,' or furthers the 'best and truest interests of His Church,' by treating Christian Nonconformists as outside the Body of Christ, and refusing to speak the word of God in their chapels, if they have the grace, the tolerance, and the charity to request it. . . . .

"I am persuaded that if every Nonconformist minister were moved by the Spirit of God to extend to the rector of the parish the invitation extended to me, and every clergyman possessed the willingness of mind and freedom of conscience to accept such invitation, without any implied sacrifice of distinctive principles on either side, this mutual approach would break down the exclusive and sectarian spirit among Christians, tend towards the realising of the ideal of the

Church Catholic, which is unity of spirit amidst diversity of operation, and harmony of action amidst diversity of manifestation, and truly nationalise the Church of England.

"After this explanation I earnestly trust that if I accept the invitation now extended to me to repeat my visit to the Albion Chapel I shall be understood to be only carrying out the principle expressed by your Lordship in the words, 'I desire most earnestly a better understanding and ultimate union with the principal Nonconformists.'

"I need hardly say with what unfeigned sorrow I find myself at issue with my honoured Diocesan; but to quote an historic utterance, 'Here I stand, I can do no other, may God help me. Amen.'"

Some portions of the Bishop's reply to Canon Wilberforce we have already quoted. It contains, further, an attempt to meet his theory by a *reductio ad absurdum*, showing that the Canon's arguments would justify a clergyman of the English Church, if invited to do so, in preaching in a Roman Church, or celebrating Mass, or even officiating in a Mohammedan mosque, or a Buddhist temple,* since as the Bishop believes "according to the teaching of our Lord and of St. Paul, many of those who never heard of Christ will yet be saved by the mighty power of His Incarnation, and Atonement, and Resurrection;" and secondly, a reminder of the disabilities to which a clergyman of the Church of England voluntarily submits himself at his ordination, and which he is not justified in afterwards throwing off in pursuance of some "private theory of his own."

The Canon's letter in reply we give in full. It would only lose by condensation, and it requires no comment:—

"My dear Lord Bishop,—I am grateful to you for the thoughtful, comprehensive, and interesting exposition you have given to me of what you correctly term the 'other side of the question.'

* Canon Wilberforce's reply to this argument is one of the most noteworthy points of the whole correspondence. Quietly pointing out the distinction between the performance of the Mass, or any other act of worship of which he disapproves, and unfettered preaching of what he believes to be the truth, he boldly declares that thus unfettered he would readily preach even in a Mohammedan mosque or a Buddhist temple. It is difficult to believe that the Bishop himself did not see the distinction, and yet if he did see it how could he put the argument in so misleading a form?

"I should be obviously wanting both in wisdom and respect if I ventured into the arena of controversy or prolonged discussion with one so learned and experienced as yourself. Nevertheless, as the question at issue is so important, and is so manifestly pressing forward for consideration and decision in the Church of England, I ask permission to disentangle my position from some irrelevant issues in which I think it has become involved. In the first place, I wish it to be clearly understood that in accepting the invitation to occupy the pulpit of a Nonconforming denomination I do not in any sense imply repudiation of distinctive principles on either side. I, as an Anglican clergyman, credited with holding what are called High Church opinions and views concerning the Apostolic origin of the Church of England such as those expressed by your lordship, am asked unconditionally to preach the Gospel of Christ to a congregation collected within the walls of a Nonconformist chapel, but gathered from a class of my own parishioners habitually attending no place of worship. Unaware of any definite 'law of the Church' to the contrary, and 'God having showed me that I should call no man common or unclean, I came without gainsaying as soon as I was sent for' (Acts x. 29). This I did as an Anglican clergyman, and in no other capacity. I did not 'officiate,' in the commonly accepted interpretation of the word; in this case, as I was detained in another direction, I was not even present during the preliminary prayers, but simply entered the pulpit and delivered God's message which I am commanded in the New Testament to preach to 'every creature' without limitation as to the building. Similarly unfettered, and in response to a similar call, I would, as an Anglican clergyman, with the utmost readiness do the same in a Roman Catholic church or in any Mahomedan mosque or Buddhist temple in the world, and especially in my own parish. In neither case should I, in the conventional sense of the word 'officiate' in the form of worship customary to the community. I should not feel myself at liberty or desirous to administer the Lord's Supper in the Nonconformist chapel, nor the Mass in the Roman Catholic church, nor to adopt any form of worship peculiar to the Mahomedan or the Buddhist in the temple or the mosque. While it is with peculiar thankfulness that I mark your lordship's expression of opinion as to the extension of the merits of the Incarnation and Atonement to the Mahomedan and the Buddhist who in this life have never heard of Christ, I am nevertheless unable to follow the analogy which classifies them with the converted Anglican Nonconformists or Roman Catholic believers, inasmuch as the principle underlying what I believe to be

the spiritual Church is the essential unity in spite of external diversity existing between all who have accepted, not with the brain only, but with the heart also, the Gospel, 'to wit that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself,' 'who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity,' and who 'by one Spirit are baptized into one body.'

"With regard to the 'moral and religious' aspect of the question, my conviction as to the complete rectitude of my action remains entirely unshaken, and in earnestly seeking heart union amongst believers in Christ, the very last expedient that would occur to me would be to 'substitute a hollow truce for a true and comprehensive unity.' Every honest heart revolts at the bare idea. Your lordship in your first letter encourages plain speaking; I will speak plainly and say that in my opinion part of that 'careful preservation' of the Church of England 'from corruption, waste, and decay,' spoken of by your lordship, might not inaptly be applied in the direction of preserving her from coming under this very definition of 'substituting a hollow truce for a true and comprehensive unity.' It might be interesting and instructive to know the extent, quality, and reality of the 'comprehensive unity' existing among those who in this case have modernised the 'My Lord Moses, forbid them,' of Numbers xi. 28, into the appeal 'My Lord Bishop, forbid him.' My own personal knowledge has forced upon me the conviction that when in the Church of England Litany we pray against schism we have need to apply the term not so much to a more widely extended preaching of the Gospel as to the separating factions (Gal. v. 20) within our own Church, to the religious partisanship so common among ourselves, to our being divided up under party names, with representative newspapers ever stirring up internecine warfare, and rival associations instituting prosecutions between those who differ from each other doctrinally more widely than they differ from the Dissenter, and whose union is in very deed the 'hollow truce' of identity of interest in the same organised community. Taking into consideration the magnificent position of the Church of England, her Apostolic origin, her possession of the 'whole counsel of God,' her opportunity of leavening the whole nation from the throne to the cottage, that reformer would merit the everlasting gratitude of Englishmen who would produce a real unity within her borders, and, abolishing party associations and opposing schools, fulfil the command given to Ezekiel, 'Son of man, bind them together in one bundle in thine hand.'

"Most respectfully would I venture to say that the times in which we live are hardly such as to justify the hindering of the proclama-

tion of the Gospel anywhere in any circumstances. We are in the midst of a world lying in wickedness, a society corrupt to the core, a wave of anarchy threatening the commonwealth itself, a daily press teeming with records of terrible offences against God and humanity, of conjugal infidelity in high places, of the demon of intemperance pauperising and degrading the nation. Even the indifferent are asking, 'Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?' Has heaven no antidote for a world's depravity? It has; but the society-sanctifying power and aggressive activity of the world's commissioned anti-corrupters are paralysed by the internecine warfare of Christians. 'Christendom,' writes Bishop Huntington, 'steps back into practical paganism while Christians are sitting picking motes out of one another's eyes.'

"My lord, it is not by 'breaking down landmarks' that I would seek to draw the hearts of Christians together, but by deepening all the powerful realities of the Christian faith. If each Christian community were able to shake itself free from worldly entanglements and live closer to Christ, in proportion to its nearness to the Lord would be the facility with which it would be enabled to put off the separating shibboleths of sectarianism. Doubtless the marine inhabitant of each little rock pool at dead low water complacently dogmatises that his diminutive environment is the whole ocean; nothing will dispel the illusion but the rising of the tide, and as the irresistible flood advances, overflowing all barriers, the living creatures are united, not by mutual concessions, but by a common enlargement of horizon. If we are able to acknowledge that the unity demanded by Christ in St. John xvii. as a witness to the world is analogous to the unity of subsistences in the Divine nature—namely, not unicity, but oneness with difference of manifestation—that it is not a successful scheme for theological and ecclesiastical sameness, but a keener realisation of personal fellowship with Christ, we shall see that for each individual to deepen his personal spiritual life will be to draw down a baptism of the Holy Spirit, which shall, like a rising tide, overflow distinctions of method and sect and bind believers into 'one stick in His hand.'

"I am, moreover, deeply convinced that this essential heart unity ought to be attainable without compromise or the paring away of honest convictions. I understand your lordship to believe that the Catholic Church is essentially one underneath, and in spite of, the deep surface divisions and excommunications separating Rome, Constantinople, and Canterbury. I would assume the Church to be essentially one beneath, and in spite of, the wide chasm between the Church of England and Dissent.

"When the Church Congress met in Leicester the Nonconformist ministers sent a deputation to the assembled clergy welcoming them in the name of the Lord, and they were cordially met and addressed in words of brotherly kindness by the Bishop of Peterborough; and the same amenities took place at the Church Congress assembled at Portsmouth under the presidency of your lordship. When the Congregational Union met at Bristol the leading clergy waited upon them while in conference with greetings and congratulations. The Revised Version of the Bible is the joint work of Churchmen and Dissenters. The late Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 14 of his last Charge) says that it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations with Dissenters and to look out for occasions in which, notwithstanding our differences, we may act together. Your lordship says that if Christ were to return He would find multitudes of Nonconformists ready for His coming and would call them to Himself to meet Him in the air, while multitudes of the members of the National Church could only expect to hear the words, 'Depart from Me.' To these significant facts and strong statements I would respectfully add the comparatively insignificant recommendation that an Anglican clergyman should not be hindered if, in the fulfilment of his commission to preach the Gospel to 'every creature,' he carries God's antidote for human depravity within the walls of Nonconformist chapels.

"My lord, you ask me if I am justified on a 'private theory of my own in pleading my own conscience against the Church's law.' This is, I think, the aspect of the question which presses for decision. My own 'private theory' may be in accordance with the 'private theory' of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, when, in his letter to Dr. Longley, he wrote:—'I have based my ministry on the axiom that the Dissenters are my brothers and the devil my enemy, and I have no sympathy with those who reverse the proposition.' But I should not be justified in acting upon this theory in direct disobedience to a clear law of the Church. I am ready to admit that there may be occasions when to break a law which ignores the everlasting distinctions of right and wrong may be in the line of obedience to God; but to decide this momentous question it is necessary that the law shall be so clear that he who runs may read. In what sense have I 'broken the Church's law'? Is it in the sense in which the Church's law is broken by those who omit daily and saints' day services and the Athanasian creed; in the sense in which it is broken at every one of our mass meetings for men only, and crowded mission services when extempore prayers are used; in the sense in which it is broken whenever we officiate in circuses, theatres, and unlicensed

mission-rooms; in the sense in which Lord Bramwell recently declared that a certain Bishop's exercise of the veto was 'taking the wages of the Church for breaking its laws and encouraging the breakers'; in the sense in which a Diocesan Chancellor recently stated in the *Times* that the Bishop, Dean, and Canon of Lincoln are breaking the law; in the sense in which the late learned and eminent Bishop Wordsworth declared that every Bishop was breaking the law who did not wear a cope in his cathedral? If I am 'pleading my own conscience against a Church's law' of this vague, undefined, and debateable character, I do not stand alone in the action, and it would be only equitable to enforce the law all round or allow equal liberty in each case. If, however, I have broken a more definite law of the Church, it would be for the quieting of consciences and the peace of the Church that this law should be clearly recognised; and I am quite prepared that my recent action should be made the occasion for a prosecution for the purpose. If I have broken the Church's law, let the Church's law be vindicated. The clergy and laity referred to in your lordship's first letter have, by bringing the matter before you, indicated their wish for an appeal to Cæsar. Unto Cæsar, then, let us go.

"In the meantime one obligation is clearly on me—namely, the law of obedience to the plain command of my Bishop, and if I understand your lordship not to remonstrate merely, but distinctly and authoritatively as my Bishop to forbid my preaching to my parishioners within the walls of a Nonconformist chapel, I shall, pending the decision of a court of law, loyally and unhesitatingly obey you.—I am, my dear Lord Bishop, respectfully and affectionately yours, "BASIL WILBERFORCE."

Truly this is no easy letter for the Bishop to answer. But if the Bishops are perplexed—and surely they must be by these things, not knowing what to say;—while they ponder anxiously, the Lower House of Convocation comes gaily to the rescue and points out their course for them. A *gravamen* with *reformandum* attached is brought forward and converted into an *articulus cleri* for the guidance of the Upper House. The practice of preaching in dissenting chapels is unanimously condemned, not without a pun and some laughter to season the speeches of condemnation. A suggested alteration whereby the Bishops should be asked to

"take *proceedings* to *prevent*" what is becoming "a great scandal," which would really have meant something, was rejected; and they were only asked to "take *steps* to *prohibit*," which they all seem to be doing already. A phrase which either implied that Mr. Lambert, Mr. Haweis, Canon Fleming, and Canon Wilberforce were "maintainers of schism and maintainers of conventicles" or else had nothing to do with the question, was judiciously omitted at the suggestion of the Dean of Windsor, who, it must be confessed, at least succeeded in making the *articulus cleri* somewhat less ridiculous than it was in danger of being. The solemnity of the *gravamen*, which began by stating that "certain priests of the Church of England had preached," &c., was in danger of being overthrown by the terrible suggestion that there had been only one offender; but *Prebendary Kempe* came to the rescue with the assertion that he knew "another instance in point," and there being fortunately no dual number in the English language, all the vague impressiveness of the plural which may mean anything from two to infinity was saved. And at last, with charming unconscious irony, the House terminated its proceedings for the day with the solemn declaration that for a clergyman of the Anglican Church to preach in a Nonconformist chapel "is detrimental to the spread of true religion."

But these things we have chronicled in their own place in our *Ecclesiastical Notes*. Having just given Canon Wilberforce's letter in full, it is only fair that we should also give in full the speech of Canon Hole, prime mover in the matter in Convocation, as reported in the *Guardian*.

Mr. HOLE said: I am fully assured of the sympathy of this House. We may differ as to details and forms of expression, but I think that we are at one, or nearly so, with regard to this innovation. I wish to emphasize my expression [? appreciation] of the motives and intentions of those who accept invitations from Nonconformists to preach, but I think that they are egregiously mistaken. I dislike their plan of cam-

paign as much as another Plan of Campaign is now disliked in other quarters. I would simply ask, What is to be the end of it? Where are the boundaries to be placed? What is it to lead to? I read in *Whitaker's Almanack* that there are 223 Christian communities. Are we to have the edifying sight of 223—I will not say "priests," because that term might be objectionable, though I am afraid that as long as our liturgy remains as it is they must own the soft impeachment—223 clergymen going to preach in as many different directions? We cannot stop there. Men of generous impulses—that is, gentlemen—will not accept hospitality without returning it. We must invite our friends to come back, and there must be a *place aux dames*. We cannot shut out the "Hallelujah lasses." There is no end, I say, if you once let in water. If the reservoir is once broken through who shall stop the flood? I might ask a Roman priest to come and preach for me. He would not come. He values too highly the truths which he holds (some of them very doubtful in our eyes), but he would be very happy to stand by and see the "happy dispatch" of his strongest opponent. What would be the consequences with regard to consecration, ordination, and the Creeds? Well, a man of ordinary mind, and certainly a man of commercial mind, will say, "If consecration and ordination are of so little value in the eyes of those who have received them, if they say that one building is as good as another, and if they say that one man has as much right to preach as another, is not a Bishop at £3,500 a year *minimum* rather an unnecessary and expensive article? And with regard to the Creeds, when all the barriers are swept away, why, what can be the result but one anxious, unsatisfied cry of "What is truth?" asked very much, I suppose, as Pilate asked it—contemptuously, or in the wish to go his own way. We shall have each man with a psalm, a doctrine, a tongue, a revelation, and an interpretation; and in answer to that question, "Where is truth?" one will point here and another there. *Voi-là, Voi-sey.* But, sir, the spirit of this House will not permit this innovation. We shall not allow the vineyard wall to be broken down, knowing that if we do the wild boar of anarchy and the wild boar of unbelief may eventually come in. I know that the spirit of this House is to resist an innovation which is as wrong in principle as it is weak in policy.

Laughable enough all this would be if we had the heart to laugh. "But yet the pity of it, Iago. O, Iago, the pity of it, Iago." Is it possible that Canon Hole could read Mr. Wilberforce's letters, and then stand up in Convocation

and make jocular allusions to the "Plan of Campaign" and the "Hallelujah Lasses," and find his climax in a pun and foolish bluster about the wild boar of anarchy and unbelief? Stripped of all this folly, his only argument is, that if the common Christianity of the churches be acknowledged, the man "of commercial mind" will ask whether a Bishop is worth £3,500 a year; and there will be an anxious, unsatisfied cry, "What is truth?"

Let those who are commercially-minded fear the opinion of the "commercial mind" as to the value of their services. It is true that many are beginning to ask already what the Bishops are worth, but the question is to be answered, not in terms of the counting-house, but in terms of the Kingdom of God. And it is true that many are already asking anxiously, What is Truth? and asking, What is Christianity? What is Man? What is God?

We shall know what the Bishops are worth when they not only permit, but urge, their clergy to carry to every company of men whose doors are open to them whatever truth they can; and at least the truth that Christianity is not strife and division, or pride and contempt, or self-assertion and dogmatism, but faith, and hope, and love, and holiness, and peace; that men and women are not ranks and classes, and sects and parties, but brothers and sisters; and that God is neither an arbitrary despot, nor a blind force, nor a vague tendency, but the Father of men. There are many who are waiting to go forth beyond their own "consecrated walls." They wait for the Bishops to speak. They wait to know the law of man. But they know the law of God, and one of them has already said, "Here I stand, *I can do no other.* May God help me. Amen."

THE EDITOR.

NOTE ON LITURGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PHRASE :—

ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.—(MATT. vi., 13.)

THE meaning of this phrase has been generally sought through a comparison of the Biblical usage of the terms *ὁ πονηρός* and *τὸ πονηρόν*, or of the Jewish equivalents supposed to represent them. It may be interesting to suggest another line of inquiry, and ask what evidence there is beyond the limits of the New Testament of the way in which the words were understood by the early Christian Church. Such evidence, should any exist, will not, of course, suffice to determine their original significance. But it may throw an interesting light on the sense which they were supposed to bear at no very great distance from the place or time of their first record ; and though the interpretation by the Church cannot control or decide their import, it may be at least useful to ascertain what ideas they were believed to convey.

I have not alighted on any explanation or discussion of the phrase in any writer of the second century. The earliest exposition of it in Greek occurs, I believe, in Origen's "Commentary on the Lord's Prayer," chapter 63. It is equivalent, he affirms, to the preceding clause, "lead us not into temptation (or trial)," and he paraphrases thus : "God delivers us from afflictions, not when they cease to afflict, but when we, though afflicted, are, by God's help, not straitened." On the other hand, the first Latin occurrence of the words (Tert., *De Fuga in Persec.*, 2) bears quite a differen meaning : "Erue nos a *maligno*" is Tertullian's version of the clause "that is," he explains, "lead us not into temptation by handing us over to the Evil One. For we are then delivered from the hands of the devil when we are not surrendered to him for temptation." There are thus two clear lines of suggestion. In the one, the parent Hebrew רָעַע has become the impersonal plural *θλιψεῖς*, in the other the decidedly individual *malignus*. Is it possible, however, to mount any higher in the investigation of the Christian understanding of the prayer?

A passage in the recently discovered "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" seems to have some bearing on this inquiry. It was argued by Dean Stanley, in one of his charming essays on the Lord's Supper, that the eucharistic food was consecrated by the repetition of the Lord's Prayer. Whether this be so or not, there is certainly evidence in the ancient liturgies of the regular use of the prayer at a particular place in the service. Now, the "Teaching of the Twelve" contains matter of the highest value for the investigation of the constituent elements of the eucharistic service as it was celebrated in the circles from which this book

issues. Everything here points to an early date. It is well known that it presents a view of the Eucharist quite unlike that either of Paul or Justin Martyr, to name only our earliest witnesses. There is no mention of the body and blood of Jesus, there is no reference to his death. The act is still associated with the common meal of the believers. When the meal is over and the faithful are filled, they are directed to give thanks in these terms :—

"We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant (*παῖς*, used immediately before of David), to thee be glory for ever. Thou, Sovereign Almighty, hast created all things for thy name's sake; and food and drink hast thou given to men for enjoyment that they may give thee thanks, but on us hast thou bestowed spiritual food and drink and life everlasting through thy servant. Before all things we give thee thanks that thou art mighty, to thee be glory for ever. Remember, O Lord, thy church to deliver it from all evil (*τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ*), and to perfect it in thy love, and gather it from the four winds hallowed for thy kingdom which thou has prepared for it. For thine is the power and the glory for ever."

We are here on the track of one of the earliest liturgical collections of the Christian Church. These prayers are evidently designed for use when no one is at hand who can speak with the free utterance of the spirit, for the writer adds, "But permit the prophets to give thanks at as great a length as they please." It is not possible now to enter on an inquiry as to the nature and function of the prophetic order in the early Church; I wish only to dwell on the concluding phrases of the prescribed prayer. Are they not plainly founded on the language of the Lord's Prayer? The word "hallowed," the reference to the "kingdom," the concluding doxology, all point to this. Is not then the clause "to deliver it from all evil" a liturgical application of *ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*? Canon Spence has indeed suggested* that the proper parallel lies in *John* xvii. 15, "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of (*ἐκ*) the world, but that thou shouldst keep them out of the evil" (where surely the repetition of the preposition *ἐκ* should have prevented our Revisers from translating "from the evil one"). But the words have less in common, the Johannine language (*τηρεῖν ἐκ*) stands quite remote from that of the Teaching, while *ῥύσασθαι ἀπὸ* agrees exactly with the clause in the Lord's Prayer.†

* *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 46.

† Compare with this the following passage from Justin, *Dial. with Trypho*, 41: "And the offering of fine flour, Sirs, I said, which was appointed to be offered on behalf of those purified from leprosy, was a type of the bread of the Thanksgiving, which our Lord Jesus appointed us to make in remembrance of the suffering which he suffered on behalf of those who are purified in their souls from all iniquity (*ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας*) in order that we may at the same time give thanks to God both for having created the world with all things therein for the sake of man, and for having freed us from the badness (*ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἠλευθερωκέναι*) in which we were born, and for having completely overthrown principalities and powers by him who became subject to suffering according to His will."

This becomes quite clear when the subsequent liturgical forms are examined. Soon after the consecration of the elements, the Lord's Prayer is repeated as far as the clause under consideration. Then follows a collect, expanding and interpreting the closing words. These collects are of two types, some treating the phrase in the masculine, some in the neuter. The Eastern liturgies, whether Greek or Syriac, all seem to follow the same general method. Thus in that which bears the name of St. James, connected with the Church of Antioch, we find "deliver us from the evil one, and from (ἀπὸ or ἐκ) his works." The Syriac liturgy called after James is not decisive, to judge by the Latin texts which alone are printed in the collections of Renaudot* and Swainson,† "Lord God lead us not into temptation, which being destitute of virtue we cannot endure, *et libera nos a malo*, through Jesus Christ our Lord." A large variety of forms are given by Renaudot, under different venerated names, of various ages and origins. They run in such terms as these :—

S. John the Evangelist : "Save, O Lord God, the souls of thy servants from bitter temptations, and from every machination of demons and wicked men, for thou art powerful over all, and to thee we ascribe glory," &c.

The Twelve Apostles : "O Lord, O Merciful One, despise us not so that temptation may prevail against us, but deliver us from the rebellious evil one, and from his crooked and perverse ways, for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory."

S. Mark : "Preserve us, O Lord God, from all temptations of soul and body. Cast down the devil our enemy under our feet, and grant us the abounding mercy which proceedeth from thee in Jesus Christ our Lord."

In other cases, however, there is a slight difference in tone. Thus :

2 S. Peter : "O Lord, lead us not into the trials of temptations, because we have not strength to endure them, but for thy great mercy's sake deliver and save us from all plagues of wrath, for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory."

Or still more vaguely, in the liturgy bearing the name of Xystus : "All those things which make us worse and more imperfect, change quickly, O Lord, into those which make us better and more worthy, and to thee will we ascribe glory."

Even here, therefore, the Church tradition is not decisive in favour of the masculine interpretation of "the Evil One."

In the Greek and Coptic liturgies of Egypt the tendency is decidedly in the opposite direction. Thus the Greek liturgy of Alexandria, called after S. Mark, gives the prayer in these terms : "Yea, Lord, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. For thy great compassion knoweth that we are not able to endure through our great weakness. But with the temptation make for us the issue also, that we may

* Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, ed. 1847.

† Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884.

be able to endure, for thou hast given us authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory."

A series of Coptic liturgies yields passages like the following: "All good things that are good and excellent do thou command for us, for thou art he who hast given us power to tread upon the serpent and scorpions, and over all the power of the foe. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver and rescue us from all evil, by the grace and mercy and love for man of thine only Son, our Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ." *

S. Basil: "Thus we beseech thee, O holy Father, lead us not into temptation, nor permit any iniquity to rule over us, but deliver us from useless deeds and thoughts and impulses and enticements; and extinguish temptation and put it away from us. Likewise restrain the impulses which are roused within us, and remove from us the causes which lead us to sin, deliver us through thy holy power, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

S. Cyril: "We beseech thee, Father Almighty, lead us not into temptation, but deliver us *a malo*, diabolic actions remove from us, make all the snares of wicked men of none effect."

The Æthiopic Canon† runs with the utmost simplicity, "Deliver us from all sin; grant us to do thy will at all times; for thine is the glory for ever and ever."

Accordingly within the impersonal interpretation of the disputed words, we can discover two shades of meaning, corresponding, in fact, to the two shades of meaning in the word πειρασμόν (1) trial, a trial of faith, arising from danger, suffering, affliction, and (2) temptation, the moral conflict involved in evil thoughts and desires. The Catholic Church has known how to harmonise these two related thoughts in the Roman Canon of the Mass, which contains so many elements of ancient feeling, side by side with the growth of later times. The recital of the Lord's Prayer, after the consecration of the elements, closes with the words "*sed libera nos a malo*," and is followed by this comprehensive collect: "Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come, . . . that by the aid of thy mercy we may be always both delivered (free) from sin, and secure from all disquiet."

So from the earliest times the liturgical evidence of the early Church distinctly permits, and may be even said to favour the impersonal rendering, "Deliver us from evil."

J. E. CARPENTER.

* Swainson, p. 363.

† Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vii. 165.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Messianic Prophecy, the Prediction of the Fulfilment of Redemption through the Messiah. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1886.

THIS work, like its predecessor on *Biblical Study* by the same author, bears interesting witness to the vigour with which Old Testament scholarship is maintained on the other side of the Atlantic. Dr. Briggs is Professor of Hebrew in a Presbyterian College in New York, and by a long series of labours during the past seventeen years has given ample evidence of learning and thought. In the earlier treatise, his position (concerning the authority of Scripture) closely approximated to that of some of the liberal Puritan divines of the seventeenth century, especially Baxter, whom he quotes with hearty approval. The book now before us deals with a subject hardly touched in the first work, and applies to the prophecies of the ideal future of Israel, and the world, the principles of textual and literary criticism and interpretation laid down in *Biblical Study*.

Dr. Briggs accepts with the greatest frankness the existence of different codes in the Pentateuch and different groups of narratives to match. He is reserved on the question of their date and authorship, and such a remark as this—"It had been impossible to observe any of the Mosaic codes during the wandering in the wilderness" (*Messianic Prophecy*, p. 121)—sounds as if he regarded Moses as compiler or editor of pre-existing documents. He distributes the book of Zechariah among three authors, maintains the Babylonian origin of Isaiah xl.—lxvi. along with sundry earlier chapters in the same prophetic collection, and suggests that the opening portions of Daniel may date from the Maccabean era, though he clings to the belief that its predictions are of much older date. It is plain, then, that the author is by no means an undiscriminating supporter of traditional theories of authorship; and the same freedom marks his treatment of the text. The chapter on the "Text of the Bible" in *Biblical Study*, states with adequate clearness and brevity the essential problems; and the very numerous passages from the Prophets and Psalms freshly translated in *Messianic Prophecy* supply abundant proof of the laborious care with which he has worked through the difficulties constantly presented by the state of the Massoretic text. In this task he has availed himself freely of the latest researches. Thus the sections on Ezekiel are enriched by numerous references to the edition published by Dr. Cornill only last year; and in the same manner the Prolegomena recently issued by Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch to his forthcoming Hebrew Dictionary have been laid under contribution. We must pass by any discussion of Dr. Briggs's metrical theories until he can give more satisfactory evidence for his views. The rhythm which he

discovers ought to be much more clearly displayed in specific passages than he has hitherto exhibited it, in order to enable ordinary Hebrew students to recognise his trimeter or pentameter lines.

Enough has been said to show that this is a book which deserves respectful consideration. But a few words must be added on its whole conception of prophecy, and its general principles of interpretation. That prophecy is a phenomenon of much wider range than the Hebrew people, is readily conceded by Dr. Briggs. He is, however, convinced that Hebrew prophecy has a peculiarly divine and supernatural character, and it becomes necessary, therefore, to lay down some tests by which this eminence of origin can be recognised. But here the author's touch grows somewhat weak, his language vague and indefinite. When he asserts, for example, that "the insight of the Hebrew prophet is so profound that it transcends the native energies of human perception" (p. 44), it is obvious that this is a proposition which is not proved simply by being stated. The older apologetic placed the supernatural element in prediction, and found the guarantee of divine utterance in fulfilment. Dr. Briggs is well aware that this method of argument is highly perilous, and with commendable directness remarks, "Kuenen has taken advantage of the errors of the scholastic theory and interpretation of predictive prophecy, and has dealt Hebrew prediction the severest blows it has ever received" (p. 44). But he adds, with cheerful confidence, "We shall parry these blows of Kuenen by showing that they have destroyed the scholastic theory, but they have not in the slightest degree injured Hebrew prediction as such."

In this task, however, Dr. Briggs does not appear to us to have succeeded. It is true that this volume contains only a part of his demonstration. He here delineates the ideal of the Old Testament, and reserves the questions of how much was fulfilled in the first advent, and how much yet remains for fulfilment in the second, for subsequent treatment. Nevertheless, he cannot altogether extricate himself from the necessity of connecting the fore-announcement and the realisation, and the hints which he lets drop are hardly reassuring. He has a firm grasp of the prime necessity for an expositor, viz., to ascertain simply and clearly the meaning of each passage, without importing into it any preconceived ideas; he well understands that all higher interpretation must be based on correct exegesis. Yet sometimes he must be said to miss the mark through Christological prepossession. Here are one or two test passages:—

Hear now, O house of David; Is it too little for you to weary men, that you should weary my God also? Therefore Jahveh* himself will give you a sign; Lo, young woman, thou art pregnant, and about to bear a son, and call his name Immanuel. Curds and honey will he eat at the time of his knowing to refuse evil and choose good. For before the boy knows to refuse evil and choose good, the land because of whose two kings thou art anxious, will be abandoned.—Is. vii. 13-17.

* We cannot help regretting that Dr. Briggs has adopted this spelling in preference to Yahveh, for no better reason than that foreign scholars spell it so (p. xi.); of course they do not pronounce it so.

Here it is plain that the child is the "pledge of the divine deliverance," "the significance of the sign is in the child and his name, and not in the mother." But is it not equally plain that the sign would be a good deal too late if it did not appear till seven centuries after the event? Judah is to be liberated from the invading kings of Israel and Syria. A child is born, or is to be born; before that child reaches years of discretion, Israel and Syria will be themselves invaded, and the hostile kings must withdraw to defend their own dominions. "There is no reason," says Dr. Briggs, "why we should seek a fulfilment of the sign in the time of Ahaz." There is every reason why we should seek it; a sign that only presents itself after the occurrence, is of no use at all; it has no longer any meaning. Dr. Briggs lays it down dogmatically that the passage is a Messianic passage; but as he can find no evidence of the birth of such a child in the days of Ahaz or Hezekiah, he boldly carries its application forward "until the Messiah was born of the Virgin Mary." Is it not plain that the passage from Matthew (i. 21, 25), duly cited in the note, has really controlled our author's interpretation? After this it is easy to understand that the marvellous child, designated (according to Dr. Briggs) "Wonderful Counsellor, Divine Hero, Distributor of Spoils, Prince of Peace," should be identified with Jesus Christ.

Time, it thus appears, is of no consequence in prophecy. And other details that appear at first sight equally unyielding can be eliminated as unessential, "the clothing of the ideal, not the ideal itself." If in the restored Jerusalem, viewed as the centre of true religion, the *cultus* is re-established with temple, altar, and perpetual priesthood, while gifts and incense are offered in distant lands, this simply means that "in the times of the Messiah universal worship rises above the local altars and the ceremonial of sacrifice." Transformations of this kind are numerous, but to the historical student of Israel's religion they are not satisfactory. Indeed, the very title of Dr. Briggs's book implies a theory which constantly peeps out in unexpected quarters. Why *Messianic Prophecy?* The orthodox Orelli, for example, prefers the term "completion of the kingdom of God." But our author finds this name inadequate. It does not say anything about redemption. "But inasmuch as this completion is accomplished only through the Messiah—as His person is the central theme to which the fulfilment of redemption ever points—it seems better to embrace Him in the definition," &c. Here is the New Testament read into the Old with a vengeance. There is one case, and one only, where a Hebrew prophet expects Yahveh's Messiah to deliver Israel, and specifically names him for that task. It is a very remarkable instance of fulfilled prediction. Why is not this included in the range of this volume? It is because the person in question is not Jesus at all, but the Persian conqueror Cyrus.

Dr. Briggs does not, then, really parry Dr. Kuenen's thrusts, except by withdrawing all local and historical detail and confining himself to certain ideal elements. Time and circumstance must first be sacrificed, and then you may concentrate all that is left into one particular era, on

one particular man. Not many will think this method reasonable. Nevertheless, Dr. Briggs writes with so much earnestness, he is so ready in resource in his treatment of specific passages, that much is to be learned from him, even by those who cannot accept his results. We sincerely trust that nothing will prevent the completion of his work.

J. E. C.

An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By the Rev. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 225.)

THIS little book, by the professor of New Testament Criticism in the Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, U.S.A., appears as one of the first volumes in a series of manuals projected by the publishers and superintended by the Editor of *The Expositor*, and issued under the name of "The Theological Educator." The object of the series is to "give a solid and trustworthy grounding in all branches of theological study," as is done by similar books for literature and science. The books are to be wholly unsectarian, to be written by recognised authorities, and while intended to be specially useful to theological students, are to be composed in a style which will not deter lay readers from their use. The names of Rev. W. H. Lowe, Rev. W. H. Simcox, Dr. C. H. H. Wright, Dr. Marcus Dods, appear among the contributors, as authors of books promised on the subjects of Hebrew Grammar, New Testament Greek Grammar, and Old and New Testament Introductions. In their hands the criticism will be of the moderate conservative shade. We shall be curious to see how the Rev. H. C. G. Moule and the Rev. J. E. Yonge treat "The Thirty-Nine Articles" and "The Creeds" in a "wholly unsectarian manner."

Coming to speak of the volume whose title appears above, it creates a very favourable impression at the opening of the series. We have here probably the cheapest half-a-crown's worth of textual criticism of the New Testament ever offered to the English student. But while excellently adapted for the use of the student as an introduction to this study, it is written in a style any layman of ordinary culture would find himself at home in, and—given an initial curiosity in the subject—attracted by. The precise character of the work is well stated by the author in the preface: "This little treatise purports to be a primer, and a primer to the art of textual criticism rather than to the science. Its purpose will be served if the reader is prepared by it to exercise the art in the usual processes, and to enter upon the study of the science in such books as Dr. Hort's 'Introduction,' and Dr. Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf's eighth edition." This purpose the author appears to us to have achieved. He adheres firmly to the Westcott-and-Hort principles, and has made their fundamental position so intelligible and reasonable as almost certainly to create the desire in the student to imbibe at the fountain head.

The *Introduction*, of 15 pp., shows how the necessity for textual criticism

—"the art of detecting and excluding errors in documents"—inevitably arises. The first chapter then proceeds to deal with *The Matter of Criticism*, pp. 16—81. The sources from which the mass of various readings are obtained receive enumeration and clear description, while the special value to be attached to each of the classes, viz., MSS., Versions, and Citations, is explained. The best critical editions which collect and display the fund of readings are pointed out, and adequate hints given to enable the student to read Tischendorf's Notes. The three great sources of readings are next treated in detail, always with the eye fixed upon the practical object of exercising the art of criticism. The usual topics, *e.g.*, the character of ancient writing, the material used for books, the causes which, in process of time, effected modifications in the charac er of writing, all as bearing upon changes and corruption of text, are described. We have then an ample treatment of the ancient divisions of the text, a clear and correct view of the mutual relations of such things as the Ammonian Sections and the Eusebian Canons, of the τίτλοι of the Gospels and κεφάλαια of the Acts and Epistles; while the much vexed στίχοι are not overlooked. These last are dealt with much more exactly than in any other book accessible to the general student, with which we are acquainted, except Dr. Gregory's 'Prolegomena' to Tischendorf; and the relation of Euthalius to the στίχοι, as, indeed, Euthalius' labours upon the text generally are more accurately stated than in Scriveners' second edition, or in the Art. Euthalius in Smith's Dict. of Chr. Biogr. Of the special MSS., the whole of the Uncials are classified as to age, as are all the important Cursives—or Minuscules, as Professor Warfield prefers to call them; and the section about MSS. is completed by a short account of the Lectionaries. The various Versions—Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, &c.—are next described. Of the Latin versions, Westcott-and-Hort's view is adopted, that there were three types of the old Latin; viz., an African, a European, and an Italian which was, in reality, a revision of the European. Of the Italian Jerome's Vulgate is regarded as a further revision. Of the Syriac versions, the Curetonian is treated as the oldest against Scrivener's opinion, and Baethgen's recent work on the subject is mentioned with recognition. The proof which Mr. Gwilliam has furnished in *Studia Biblica* of the careful preservation of the Peshitto text from the middle of the fifth century, even from Ephrem's time, is adapted without mention of name, and without acceptance of his half-hinted surmise that the Curetonian fragments are dependent on the Peshitto. Coming to the Citations, their extent is set forth, the causes of looseness and inaccuracy are explained, the precariousness occasioned by the want of critical texts of the Fathers is shown, as likewise the extent to which the ecclesiastical writers have been explored. In mentioning names of scholars who have worked on this field, the merits of Rönsch should not have been overlooked, though his work *Das Neue Testament Tertullians* has its primary relation not to the Greek text, but to the African old Latin version. The peculiar value of Citations, viz., that they furnish us with the data for discrimi-

nating special types of text as current in certain ages and localities, is justly indicated; and it is shown how they may therefore be used as touchstones by which to try the age and local origin of types of text contained in MSS.

The kernel of the book is to be found, however, in the next (second) chapter on *The Methods of Criticism*, pp. 82—181. Here the author shows how the material collected from MSS. Versions and Citations is to be used in order to settle the text. The principles enunciated in this chapter are drawn entirely from Westcott-and-Hort's Introduction; the manner of these scholars is, however, left entirely to themselves; the arrangement is the author's own. In this arrangement lies the strength of the exposition, and the security for the popularity of the book wherever it is known. Professor Warfield advances progressively, by means of first, second, and then nearer and nearer approximations, to the perfect method of critical work upon the New Testament. He steps gradually forward from the simplest to the most complex operations, showing what degree of effectiveness belongs to each method in its turn, where its limitations come to light, and how the removal of these conducts in every case to the next higher stage of critical method, and so on up to the highest.

All this supplies an excellent and comparatively full introduction to *The Praxis of Criticism*, to which it has been the aim of the writer throughout to lead up, and which forms the subject of chapter iii., pp 182—210. The chapter consists of examples of the detailed application of the forestated principles, or rules, to the cases of *Acts* xx. 28, *John* i. 18, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16, the section *John* vii. 53—viii. 11, and the doubtful ending of *Mark*. A small residuum of unsettled readings, after the application of the most perfect method of criticism, is acknowledged, and, the right of conjectural attempts at emendation is conceded. The author is not prepared to accept any such attempted emendations as conclusive though the best—those of Dr. C. Taylor and Bp. Lightfoot on *Col.* ii. 18 are considered very plausible. A concise sketch of *The History of Criticism*, in the fourth chapter (pp. 211—225), concludes a volume which ought to prove acceptable to students and others as a first introduction to a study, which, in Professor Warfield's hands, is by no means so dry as it looks.

Of misprints we have noticed, on p. 25 l. 18, the index symbol "1" for "pl" (plerisque); p. 36 l. 13, and p. 60 l. 6, "Wesserley" for Wessely; p. 170 l. 3, from below, "thsue pport" for "the support.' Americanisms are few, but "caption," for "chapter heading," is not common on this side, and "a very surface revision," p. 67, is bad English. The statements on p. 147 require some little modification and expansion to meet the strictures passed by Dr. Hayman in the December number of *The Expositor*, upon Westcott-and-Hort's Genealogical Method, but with this his criticism, which is certainly not altogether sound, will be comparatively innocuous. Also it might be well to show the student more clearly how "neutral admixtures" (p. 161) are to be understood and detected in other types of text, all of which are neutral in *origin*, and

for the most part, must be neutral still. On the face of it it is not plain why the neutral affinities of every text should not be due to origin rather than to mixture. Still the idea of the writer is, no doubt, correct enough; but this little point, now left in obscurity, should be made clear.

PH. M.

The Christ and the Fathers; or, the Reformers of the Roman Empire, being a critical analysis of the religious thought and opinion derived from their lives and letters, as well as from the Latin and Greek Fathers of the Eastern and Western Empires until the Nicene Council, with a brief sketch of the continuation of Christianity until the present day, in accordance with the comparative method of Historical Science; by A HISTORICAL SCIENTIST. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1887).

"I HAVE read," says our author, "the leading Lives of Christ, Histories of the Jews and Christianity, and the works on Biblical criticism which have appeared during the last half century" (p. ix.). A few specimens of the conclusions he has reached will probably suffice for our readers.

"Both of them [John the Baptist and Jesus] were Nazarites, and 'tasted neither wine nor strong drink'" (p. 44).

"The cosmopolitan reformation of Paul, the Reformer of the Roman Empire" (p. 213).

"'For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit' (*heilig geist*), or sound mind" (p. 218).

"In all probability Onesimus . . . belonged to the literary class; for he is styled 'faithful and beloved brother'" (p. 234).

"The biography of Matthew was published in Hebrew, translated into Greek and Latin, interpolated, adapted, and edited by the later fathers, with additions and fictitious genealogies, miraculous conception, and borrowed by Luke for his own introduction" (p. 264).

"The god 'El' of the Jew was the very same god as the god Il of Babylon and Allah of the Arabs. So were Baal and Moloch of the Tyrians and Sidonians, the lord and monarch of the skies. So also were the Persian Ormuzd and Ahriman (Ahura-Mazda and Angro-Mainyus), the lord of light and darkness, good and evil; and the Egyptian Isis and Osiris belong to the same category" (p. 11).

"For what reason we know not, the stinging satire styled 'Bel (Belus) and the Dragon' was cut off from the end of Daniel, and relegated to the Apocrypha" (p. 20).

"Seneca, the Spaniard and statesmen; Lucian, his nephew, the author of 'Pharsalia'" (p. 254).

It is not quite clear that our author is expressing his own opinion on p. 11. It is possible that he is only giving what he believes was Jonah's view of these things. On the other hand, we fear "Lucian" is not simply a misprint on p. 254 for "Lucan," but a real confusion of persons, as Lucian reappears with two pages to himself, and Lucan is not mentioned again, and there is no reason why he should have been mentioned at all. This confusion is the more credible when we find Dante heading a list of poets and philosophers who renounced the old faith of Christendom, a list which runs by way of Burns, Descartes, Rousseau, Gibbon, Wordsworth, Seeley, &c., &c., to Freeman Clarke.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

JANUARY.

3.—The Bishop of London presided at the first of a series of prayer meetings to be held at the Wesleyan Centenary Hall in Bishopsgate-street, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association.

11.—A fraternal meeting of the Congregational Board and the Baptist Board of London Ministers. The Rev. J. O. Fellowes, President of the Baptist Board, who presided, explained that the meeting was not planned with a view to "consider the desirability of removing any old landmarks . . . but simply to promote union and brotherly love." The Rev. A. W. Redford, deputy-chairman of the Congregational Board, read a paper on "Denominationalism in the Past and the Future." He said,

> It might be questioned whether there ever was a period when the hearts o God's people were more anxious to be rid of all that kept them apart. The time was one of desire for co-operation and virtual amalgamation. The danger was lest hasty schemes should be accepted, and the desire for fellowship should lead to the sacrifice of conviction. The old landmarks would be best obliterated by a gradual development. Great results in the past might be associated with denominational distinctions; but these distinctions might be outgrown by the higher forms of the future. The best hearts and minds were weary of denominationalism, and it would probably never occupy again the position it had held in the past. In the grander movements of the future small differences would be forgotten.

Dr. Angus said that "denomination" and "division" were by no means synonymous. The most divided of all churches was the Roman Catholic, while the distinctions of the "denominations" were quite compatible with true brotherly love and union. They would not get rid of division simply by ceasing to use denominational names, which were simply the titles of different opinions held by different people. Yet he wished they could get rid of the distinctive names. He would prefer the name "Christian" to "Baptist." He delighted in the one name, but held the truth conveyed by the other to be entirely subordinate.

Dr. Allon advocated the interchange of pulpits on stated Sundays between the ministers of the two denominations as a public demonstration of their unity of spirit.

13.—At a meeting of the constituents of Rotherham Independent College, at Sheffield, the following resolution was carried by 27 to 6:—

> That the scheme for the amalgamation of Rotherham and Airedale Colleges adopted by the joint committee be and is hereby approved and accepted by the constituents now present.

The scheme provides for the incorporation of the two colleges in one institution, under the name of the Yorkshire Independent College, with a new body of governors, to be constituted under the Charity Commissioners. The question whether the college is to be located in one or both of the present buildings, and, if one only, which, is left to the new governors; Prof. Cave, Dr. Dale, and Mr. Albert Spicer being appointed

to act as arbitrators in the matter if the governors fail to determine it by a majority of two-thirds.

19.—A meeting to promote the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Church in Wales was held at Aberystwith. A paper on "Tithes" was read by *Mr. C. R. Jones, J.P.*, of Llanfyllin; which was followed by an open conference on the subject.

Mr. Fisher, speaking as a representative of the Liberation Society, pointed out that the anti-tithe agitation and the Disestablishment movement were quite distinct, and must be conducted separately and on different lines. The Liberation Society could not be committed to the anti-tithe agitation, which was started by the farmers. The duty of his society was to take advantage of the agitation, and inform the public mind as to the whole bearings of the case. No Government would consent to the abolition of tithes, and the real grievance was, not the payment, but the appropriation of the tithe. What was intended for the public good should be used for the public good, and not for a sect. Therefore the difficulty could only be removed by the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church. A resolution was carried unanimously:

That this meeting, while expressing the deepest sympathy with the farmers during this period of agricultural depression, expresses the conviction that no relief will be obtained by making the payment of tithes compulsory upon the landlords. The only satisfactory solution of the tithe difficulty is to be found in the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, and the diversion of tithes to purposes which will benefit all classes of the Principality.

19.—Council Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. From the report of the Executive Committee, it appears that among the books given away to ministers and students "on application" the chief places are still held by Dr. Channing's works, Dr. Southwood Smith's "Divine Government," and the volume of lectures by leading Unitarian ministers on "Positive Aspects of Unitarian Thought and Doctrine." These have been asked for by Anglican clergymen, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Methodist ministers, and by students at Independent, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian colleges.

The Rev. P. H. Wicksteed read a report of the recent meeting of the Dutch Protestantenbond, which he had attended as a representative of the association. He stated that the number of members was now about 14,500, and the Sunday-schools attached to the Bond had about 9,000 scholars. This shows an increase on previous years. The Bond having passed through its early period of discussion and formation, had now developed into a steady and active association of men of like liberal spirit, belonging to what is called the Modern School, from almost all the churches. "Reformed," "Remonstrants," "Baptists," and "Lutherans" work together in it for the cultivation of the religious life of the churches. Those who had at first joined the religious revolution rather from love of revolution than of religion, had fallen off and left it; but the reaction that seemed to threaten the movement had abated, the flow of "Modern" students to the ministry had set in again, and a new era of

quiet usefulness was beginning for the "Moderns," now that they had taken their place among the recognised spiritual forces of Holland.

20.—Annual Meeting of the Trustees of Manchester New College. This meeting was, as usual, held in Manchester, though the College has been more than thirty years in London. The most important question raised by the report of the committee is, whether the College shall still retain University Hall as a residence for its own students and others, or whether the Hall shall be offered to University College as a Hall of Residence for University College students, Manchester New College reserving only the right to certain accommodation so long as it may be required. Referring to this, the *Rev. S. A. Steinthal* said that

"Some years ago a considerable number of the trustees had faith in the proposal that it would be advisable to see the institution removed from London and placed, so as to be the means of affording a free scientific study of theology, at one of the centres of National University life—say at Oxford. (Hear, hear.) That scheme was proposed to the trustees, but it failed to meet with that general approval which would have enabled them to look upon it hopefully; indeed, he thought it might now be looked upon as a thing of the past. ("Hear, hear," and "No, no.") He regretted it very much, because he believed that the transfer to Oxford would have brought their students into connection with English life in a way that was impossible at any other centre. (Hear, hear.) Looking upon that as a bygone question, he still thought they would have to consider the relation of Manchester New College to University College. When that question came to be raised they might consider whether, seeing how much Owens College had improved in its position of late years, and that the Victoria University was now established, it would not be proper for the trustees of Manchester New College to bring back that institution to the place where it was first established, and place it in connection with Owens College, which would, he believed, meet all the requirements of secular training that they desired to offer to their undergraduate students. (Applause.)"

This has called forth a protest from the *Rev. R. A. Armstrong*, who writes to the *Inquirer* that though the scheme for the removal of the College to Oxford has slept for some time it is not dead, and he has "not the least doubt it will wake up some day in very vigorous health."

28. Ruridecanal Meeting at Cheetham, Manchester.—Speaking of Church Reform, the *Bishop of Manchester* said there would be no harm in establishing a Compulsory Church Board, and giving it statutory powers if no further powers were given than those possessed by churchwardens—powers of inspection and report; but if the Boards had powers to make changes, then in parishes where the Church was weaker than the Non-conformists, Sceptics, and Indifferentists together, she would simply be placed under the heel of the majority. The share that Parliament now had in the government of the Church was tolerable because Parliament might be looked upon as representing the balance of religious opinion of the whole country; but if Parliament ceased to represent the sound Christian opinion of the country, it would, of course, disestablish the Church, and he should then be very glad of the disestablishment. If the Boards had power to make changes, then, instead of devoting their whole energies to the proper work of the Church, they would be flying at one another's throats about questions of vestments. Other important questions of

Reform, scandals in the sale of livings, notorious inequalities of income, the Boards would not be able to touch. As to the test of membership, he objected to the communicant test; but it was not true that every one born in the parish was a member of the Church of England. He suggested the adoption of the test in use in the Colonies—a written declaration that the person was a *bona fide* member of the Church of England.

The *Rev. R. E. Healy* pointed out that it was not proposed to give the Boards power to impose any change which the Bishops did not approve; while, at the same time, the Bishop would be relieved of the sole responsibility in the matter wherever there was a diocesan council.

The petition from Mohammedan subjects in British Guiana for Government aid in the erection of a mosque (see *Christian Reformer*, July, 1886, p. 249), was presented again in the Court of Policy on December 15 of last year, and was brought up the same day in the Combined Court. The petition was objected to by members of the Court on various grounds—financial, political, and religious, and finally the previous rejection of it by the Court of Policy was confirmed by the Combined Court. It is curious that estimates issued just about the same time in Ceylon embrace two sums for the repair of Buddhist religious edifices.

FEBRUARY.

2.—Annual Meeting of the "Ministers' Sustentation Fund" for Non-subscribing Churches. The report shows that the total amount invested is now more than £17,000; and grants amounting to about £1,200 have been made during the year 1886. In some places, *e.g.*, Edinburgh, Gloucester, and Cirencester, grants have been made on special conditions of increased local effort, which have been accepted. In all cases the grants are additions to the stipend which would in any case be provided by the congregation. A sub-committee specially appointed has during the year conferred with representatives of the "Augmentation Fund," which is confined to England north of the Trent, and the result has been that certain congregations have been transferred to the support of the Augmentation Fund, while the Sustentation Fund still makes certain grants in the Augmentation Fund district in the cases of ministers who have not completed the first year of their settlement, and who are, consequently, unable to receive aid from that fund. The report specially urges the necessity of supporting the small congregations in country towns:—

"Many of the small congregations it [the fund] assists in country towns may appear to be weak and languishing, but they frequently attract intelligent young men of their vicinity, many of whom afterwards remove to the large centres of population, and become attached members, and sometimes liberal supporters, of our wealthier churches. Nor are these country congregations without an important influence in sustaining the cause of liberal religion and general progress in places where, otherwise, a narrow religious, social, and political bigotry might hold undisputed sway over the education of the young, and check the conscientious formation and honest expression of opinion among the mature."

8—11.—CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY. In the Lower House, an

amendment to the Address to the Queen, in favour of a better representation of the parochial clergy in Convocation, was disposed of by carrying the previous question. A *gravamen* with reference to tithes, with the following *reformandum*, was passed; an amendment to omit all words after "altered or amended" being lost by 42 to 24.

"That there is urgent need under these circumstances for the law to be altered and amended, by enabling the tithe rent-charge owner to sue a defaulter in the County Court, and by providing that the court should levy the distraint, and that the full costs both of the suit and of the distress (without the limitations contained in the Acts relating to distraints) should be recoverable."

Canon Hole moved the following:—

Gravamen—"That certain priests of the Church of England accept from time to time invitations to preach, from those who are not in communion with that Church, in places which have not been consecrated according to its use, and in which its doctrines and its discipline are avowedly contradicted and opposed; that we are warned in the Holy Scriptures to mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and to avoid them, and that all Bishops at their consecration and all priests at their ordination are solemnly pledged to banish and drive away all such strange doctrine; that in the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, which are asserted to be binding on the clergy, all authors of schism, maintainers of schism, and maintainers of conventicles are censured, as deserving excommunication; we, the undersigned, while duly acknowledging the charitable motives and intentions of those who accept the invitations referred to, desire to express our conviction that they are not only acting illegally, but are hindering, rather than promoting, the unity of Christian people."

Reformandum—"That their lordships the Bishops be respectfully requested to take such steps as may be in their power to prohibit and to suppress an innovation which is becoming a great scandal in the eyes of many devout Church-people, and is detrimental, in consequence, to the spread of true religion."

Canon Hopkins seconded the motion, subject to any alteration that might be made in the form of the *gravamen*.

The Dean of Windsor moved to omit all words from "contradicted and opposed" to "we, the undersigned." *Sub-dean Clements* seconded the amendment. The mover and seconder would then have withdrawn that part of the *gravamen* (though *Canon Hole* called it "the evisceration" of the *gravamen*); but the House refused leave to withdraw, and carried the amendment almost unanimously.

Canon Medd moved that the first clause should read, "That certain priests of the Church of England have preached by invitations of those who are not in communion," &c.; and this was seconded by *Canon Wild*, and carried almost unanimously.

The *Dean of Windsor* moved that the last clause should read as follows; and this was seconded by *Canon Rawlinson*, and agreed to:—

"We, the undersigned, while duly acknowledging the charitable motives and intentions of those who accept the invitations referred to, desire to express our belief that the acceptance of such invitations is not only contrary to the law of this Church and realm, but tends rather to hinder than to promote the unity of Christian people."

Canon Bright moved, instead of the words "the laws of this Church and realm," to read "the principles and laws of the Church"; which was seconded by *Archdeacon Balston*, and agreed to.

On the *Reformandum* an amendment to substitute "prevent" for "prohibit" was lost by a large majority. An amendment to substitute "proceedings" for "steps" was also lost. An amendment moved by *Canon Medd*, and seconded by *Prebendary Phillott*, to omit all words after "innovation," was lost; also an amendment moved by the *Dean of Windsor*, and seconded by *Canon Bernard*, to omit "is becoming a great scandal in the eyes of many devout Church-people." The words "in consequence" were struck out of the last clause.

The *gravamen* and *reformandum* were then adopted and converted into an *articulus cleri* in the following form :—

"That, whereas certain priests of the Church of England have preached by invitation of those who are not in communion with that Church, in places in which its doctrine and its discipline are avowedly opposed, we, the clergy, while duly acknowledging the charitable motives and intentions of those who accept the invitations referred to, desire to express our belief that the acceptance of such invitations is not only contrary to the principles and laws of the Church, but tends to hinder rather than promote the unity of Christian people.

Reformandum.—"That their lordships the Bishops be respectfully requested to take such steps as may be in their power to prohibit and suppress an innovation which is becoming a great scandal in the eyes of many devout Church-people, and is detrimental to the spread of true religion."

In the House of Laymen, a resolution declaring it to be desirable "that a summary and inexpensive tribunal should, as soon as possible, be provided, with power to deal with the cases of criminous clerks," was carried, with only one dissentient. The Rubrics Bill was brought down from the Upper House by the Bishops of Ely and Truro, who explained its intention. The discussion of the Bill was postponed to the next sitting.

9.—NATIONAL CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—A meeting was held at Willis's Rooms of those who had approved one of the memorials in favour of Church Reform, in January, 1886 (see *Christian Reformer*, March, 1886, p. 189). The following resolution was moved by *Canon Bradby*, and seconded by *Dr. Martineau* :—

"That we approve of the main principles and proposals embodied in the Draft Bill submitted to this meeting, viz. :—(*a*) The conferring of self-government on their own communion on the *bonâ fide* members of the 'Church of England,' in place of statutory definition and control; (*b*) The co-ordination with it of other Christian Denominations as confederate members of a 'National Church of England'; (*c*) A re-entry of the 'tolerated' bodies on their sequestrated participation in the older portion of the Church endowments, and the preservation of the whole for spiritual uses; and resolve ourselves into a 'National Church Association' for the furtherance of these principles and their realisation by legislative enactment."

Canon Bradby's address on moving this resolution is given on p. 129.

Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrew's, and *Canon Fleming*, Vicar of St. Michael's, Chester Square, London, have both recently accepted invitations to preach in Presbyterian churches in Edinburgh; but at the request of Dr. Dowden, the new bishop, both have afterwards withdrawn.

The Christian Reformer.

APRIL, 1887.

MIRACLE PLAYS.

THE ancient classic drama was suppressed by Christianity, not because the early Church objected to acting, but because that drama was so intimately associated with heathen worship. The Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries quote the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries in their invectives against the stage, doing this with infinite relish and very little right. The early Church was far too wise, and far too strong and conscious of strength, to neglect so powerful a means of impressing the popular imagination as is furnished by dramatic art. Every church was dedicated to some patron saint. On the day of the saint the clergy of the church would hold a special festival, when they would endeavour to assemble large crowds of people, and impress upon them the special importance and desirability of propitiating this particular saint. One of the most hard-working and deservedly popular saints of the fourth century was St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra. A fine old Norman font in Winchester Cathedral is richly carved with illustrations of his beneficent activity. On one side he is represented giving dowries to three portionless maidens, who without his aid would have failed to find husbands. The next side has three divisions, showing the saint stilling a storm, restoring to life a seaman who had fallen from

the mast of a ship, and healing the sick at Alexandria. On the third side he is shown saving the lives of three young men, who had been condemned to death by the Roman prefect. The fourth side depicts the restoration to life of a child that had fallen into the sea. There were plenty of dramatic elements in a career like this. Tales of this kind would be first read, then recited, and finally acted in character.

There are still better things elsewhere. On p. 193 of Mr. Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described*, there is a delightful picture, taken from a Salisbury missal of 1534. It shows a cruel-featured man, with a butcher's cleaver in his left hand, raised to strike a human leg, which he holds in his right hand on a table. Under the table is a tub, out of which are springing three youths. Beside them stands the bishop, with mitre and crozier, and his hand raised to bless them. Hone's story is as follows :—"An Asiatic gentleman sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to wait on the bishop for his benediction. On arriving at Myra with their baggage they took up their lodging at an inn, purposing, as it was late in the day, to defer their visit till the morrow; but, in the meantime, the innkeeper, to secure their effects to himself, killed the young gentlemen, cut them into pieces, salted them, and intended to sell them for pickled pork. St. Nicholas, being favoured with a sight of these proceedings in a vision, went to the inn and reproached the cruel landlord for his crime, who, immediately confessing it, entreated the saint to pray to heaven for his pardon. The bishop, moved by his confession and contrition, besought forgiveness for him, and supplicated restoration of life to the children. He had scarcely finished when the pieces reunited, and the animated youths threw themselves from the brine-tub at the bishop's feet; he raised them up and exhorted them to return thanks to God alone, gave them some good advice for the future, bestowed his blessing

upon them, and sent them to Athens with great joy to prosecute their studies."

Such a story well deserved a picture, and artists were accustomed to represent successive scenes in one print on the principle of giving as much as possible for the money; the growth of legend, too, is shown in the development of the two boys in the story into the three in the tub. No wonder St. Nicholas became the patron saint of young people, and that dramatic festivals were held in his honour. On December 28th, the anniversary of Herod's Massacre of the Innocents, it was a custom "to whip up the children upon Innocents'-day morning, that the memory of this murther might stick the closer, and, in a moderate proportion, to act over the cruelty again in kind."* By way of compensation, the boys in the choir were allowed a somewhat immoderate proportion of licence from the day of St. Nicholas, December 6, to December 28—a kind of carnival before Lent—for a boy-bishop was elected, and he and his companions suffered to make a travesty of sacred ceremonies pretty much as they pleased.

To his other useful functions St. Nicholas added that of protecting property and punishing robbers. We hear of a play shown in church, where a monk is dressed up to represent an image of the saint; a countryman comes and deposits a bag of money at the saint's feet, and goes away; a robber comes and steals the money; the countryman returns, discovers the loss, implores and threatens the saint; thereupon the saint descends from his pedestal, goes after the thief, and brings him back along with the stolen bag. A dramatic representation such as this was far more effective

* Hone, p. 195. Another custom on this day, observed at the Abbey of Oseney, was to bring out "the foot of a child, prepared after their fashion, and put upon with red and black colours, as to signify the dismal part of that day. They put this up in a chest in the vestry, ready to be produced at the time, and to be solemnly carried about the church to be adored by the people." ("Gregorie's Works," 1684. 4to, p. 113.)

than the mere reading of the story in Latin from the Lives of the Saints. In this simple, direct fashion the mediæval Church taught the practical value of religion.

On the Continent a distinction was made between Miracle and Mystery Plays. Miracle Plays dealt solely with incidents in the lives of the saints, and were probably everywhere the first introduced. Mystery Plays dealt in a similar fashion with incidents recorded in the Bible. Both classes of plays were established abroad before their introduction to England, and here both were always known under the name of Miracle Plays, that being doubtless the most popular, as well as the best descriptive title.

Such plays were introduced into England soon after the Norman conquest. Our earliest extant example is written by an Englishman, named Hilarius, who, during the reign of Henry II., had gone abroad to study under Abelard. He wrote a play of St. Nicholas, a play on the story of Daniel, and one, which has been preserved, on "The Raising of Lazarus." It was to be acted in church instead of merely reading the eleventh chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, when that was the appointed lesson for the day. It is all written in rhymed Latin, monkish rather than Ciceronian, but full of vigour and pathos, largely borrowing, but also freely departing from, the language of the Vulgate, and ingeniously taking every legitimate opportunity to amplify the Bible narrative. Here and there Hilarius ventures—and it was a bold step—to add a refrain in Norman French, so that at least a few words, in which the congregation may possibly have joined, were in the language of the common people. The piece opens with the grief of the sisters over the illness of their brother; a messenger is sent to Jesus, who promises to come; but in the meantime Lazarus dies, and the vain attempts to offer consolation by friends and neighbours form a noticeable addition by the poet. Jesus at length comes and works the miracle, and then the service proceeds,

Lazarus beginning, and choir and congregation uniting in singing the *Magnificat* or *Te Deum Laudamus.*" *

A MS. of the twelfth century was found in the Library of Tours, containing a sequence of three plays. The first showed the Fall of Adam and Eve; and the stage directions at its close say, "Devils shall take them, and put them into hell, and they shall make a great smoke to rise in it, and cry aloud." Next follows The death of Abel, after which, "devils coming, Cain is led to hell, being often struck; but they shall take Abel more mildly; then the Prophets shall be ready each in a place of concealment." In the third play these prophets come forward, one by one, to prophecy the coming of Christ, and are then removed by devils to hell. "This sequence," says Professor Morley, "was evidently meant as a short summary from the Old Testament, showing man's need of Christ through the Fall, and the looking of the old world to his coming."

The acting was at first always inside the church, and a few old churches still show signs of dramatic contrivances, such as were used at Easter. On Good Friday a large image of Christ would be lowered from a cross, clergy and congregation would crawl on hands and knees to kiss it; then the image would be solemnly carried to a sepulchre, under, or set up by, the high altar, and left there till the morning of Easter Sunday, when the Resurrection would be acted with great pomp. There was a tradition that the second coming of Christ would take place on Easter-eve, and the congregation, according to Jerome, should remain waiting in church till midnight; the time when they were waiting would be an appropriate occasion for representing the "Harrowing of Hell." Tradition, starting from a clause in the Apostles' Creed, represented Christ as having descended

* The play is given in Professor Morley's "Library of English Literature," vol. ii. "Illustrations of Religion," pp. 38 sq. See also pp. 63 sq. of the same volume.

into hell and there preached to Adam and Eve and all their descendants down to that time, releasing those who believed his word. This subject was afterwards developed at great length in some of the series of Miracle Plays. On Whit-Sunday the descent of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove was represented in a realistic fashion that admitted no possibility of misunderstanding. Much curious information on these and similar matters is collected in Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, and helps us to see how the Church obtained its hold over the masses of the people.

After a while, the crowds who came to see the dramatic performances were greater than the churches could hold. Probably, too, the acting was attended by incidents which a growing religious feeling deemed unsuited to a religious edifice. In 1210 the clergy were forbidden by the Pope to act inside the church. The open space usually found in front of every church then served as a theatre. For a play showing the Fall the stage would be three-storeyed. The highest storey, representing heaven, would be approached from the interior of the church—the celestial performers having their faces gilded, till it was found how injurious this process was to the health. Not the smallest scruple was felt at representing all three persons of the Trinity in human form. The middle stage represented Paradise, raised a convenient height above the spectators' heads. Beneath was an enclosed space, hidden from view, where horrible cries and groans and clanking of chains could be heard, and smoke and flames be seen. From this infernal region the demons issued forth, coming up onto earth to play their part and carry off their victims. They were also in the habit—on the Continent, at least—of breaking out, clad in hairy skins, and armed with hooks and pitchforks, among the spectators. They must have produced a considerable sensation, at first one of pure terror, but gradually the comic side of their activity became predominant, and the

demon degenerated into the clown. This tendency of the diabolic to become comic is well worth the attention of the philosophic student of religion, and he will find materials for his inquiry more abundant in Germany, perhaps, than elsewhere. Hone (p. 142) gives us a copy of a German woodcut, date 1506, representing an enormous hairy devil, having a very thick strong tail, in a curve of which is bound a human sinner, whom the devil is thus carrying off to his destination. The sinner is certainly made to look very unhappy; but no artist could have drawn such a picture without intending to raise laughter rather than to strike terror. In England the demons appear not to have been allowed to mingle with the spectators, and their dignity was maintained unimpaired for the exercise of their proper functions. What their work was may be judged from a fresco discovered in 1804, on the great arch in the Chapel of Holy Cross, at Stratford-on-Avon; and here any ludicrous element is due solely to bad art, the intention of the artist is perfectly serious. The demons are busy "roping" a number of lost souls, or rather naked bodies, into the mouth of hell. The seven deadly sins are clearly indicated: Pride, "riding the high horse," is now mounted on the shoulders of a sort of two-legged unicorn. Other demons are beating the damned with clubs, flogging them with whips, going for them with hooks, and dragging along the stragglers that have fallen out of the main crowd. Another part of the picture shows the interior of hell, with various kinds of torments graphically depicted. On the stage it was not usual to show more than Hell-mouth; but that was an important item among dramatic properties. It was represented as the face of an animal with widely-opened jaws, and great steel eyes, that would roll fearfully as well as wonderfully. Just within the jaws fire was kept burning, and the entrances and exits of the demons and their victims must have been very impressive.

For a long time the actors in these religious dramas were the clergy themselves; the chorister-boys were trained to fill suitable parts; older monks undertook what they could better perform. But the year 1328 marks the beginning of a new movement, which did not become extinct till 1580, 250 years later, and which attained a vigorous development of immense importance in the history of religion in England. The festival of Corpus Christi had been founded in 1264, and confirmed in 1311; it was held on the second Thursday after Whitsunday, and its special feature was an out-door procession, in which the clergy and laity walked together, representing the apostles and the saints. In the evening the great trade guilds had each its natural celebration of any occasion that was to be celebrated—a dinner. At the time we speak of, Ralph Higden, a monk of the Abbey of St. Werberg, in Chester, saw a grand opportunity for imparting knowledge of the Bible to the masses of the people. The earnest-minded religious laity were eager to help; a beginning had been made which showed what great things might be done; the one thing which prevented success was Rome's refusal to allow Scripture incidents to be narrated in any language but Latin. Three times did the dauntless monk journey to Rome to obtain the Pope's permission to use the language of the people. Twice refused, he at last returned successful; and a series of twenty-four plays, written in English, was soon produced from the Chester Abbey. These plays the guilds undertook to represent in public, training the actors and finding the needful properties. In order to begin at the beginning, the dramatic series opened with the Fall of Lucifer, which was undertaken by the Tanners. This was followed by the Creation, the Fall, and the Death of Abel, all represented by the Drapers. To the Water-carriers was assigned the Flood with Noah's Ark. The Barbers and Wax-chandlers united to show Lot and Abraham. Still with an attempt to preserve a certain

appropriateness of function, the Bakers represented the Last Supper and the Cooks the Harrowing of Hell; and so the series proceeded till it reached its conclusion with the Websters' play of "Doomsday."

Nearly all the other large towns in England followed the example set by Chester, and only the wholesale destruction of the monastic libraries at the Reformation has deprived us of an enormous amount of a very curious kind of dramatic literature. Three whole sets of plays, however, remain—the Chester set; the Coventry series of forty-two, including many founded on the New Testament Apocrypha; and the Wakefield, or Towneley, series of thirty-two, which have far the most literary merit.

To understand these plays it is necessary to take them seriously. They are an earnest-minded attempt to give religious instruction, not popular amusement. Their object is to exhibit a living Bible in the streets. Any comic element is introduced but rarely, as a relief to highly-wrought feeling, and is generally confined to characters not strictly Scriptural.

In order to accommodate the vast crowds that flocked to see the performances, it was necessary to repeat the plays in many parts of the town, and the time occupied by the whole series often extended over three days. The acting was, therefore, given on the raised platform of a movable stage, which, when the play was finished, could be wheeled off to the next station, making way for the next play in the series to come and take its place. Thus a spectator occupying the same position throughout three days, would have the entire series brought successively before him. To see these plays Richard III. visited Coventry in 1483, and Henry VII. and his Queen in 1492.

Most of our knowledge on this subject is derived from the researches of Mr. Thomas Sharp* into the Coventry MSS.; and as a frontispiece to his book he gives us a splendid

* "Coventry Mysteries."

drawing, illustrating the performance of the Trial of Christ before Pilate. The high priest appears in the mitre of a Christian bishop, but that would distress no one; and all would be edified with the basin of real water in which Pilate washes his hands. Mr. Sharp's details from the accounts of the Drapers' pageant of "Doomsday," are most instructive. Among the properties he finds "Hell-mouth, and the keeping of fire at it;" an "Earthquake, and a barrel for the same;" "three worlds painted;" and "a link to set the world on fire." It was an expensive pageant, because a new world was wanted every year. Black suits are provided for lost souls, white for the saved, and gold skins for the angels, while three pounds of hair are required for a demon's coat and hose; there is also a "hat for the Pharisee." Among the payments are mentioned 1s. 4d. for "worms of conscience"; 1s. 6d. each to "two demons," who evidently had more to do than the four angels, who are paid only 6d. each; 2s. is paid for a "demon's face," and 10s. goes on "two devil's faces," this lavish expenditure doubtless indicating something very horrible indeed, for the "making of three worlds" costs but 2s., and 5d. is the modest sum charged "for setting the world on fire."

A good account of one of the most popular plays of the Chester series may be found in, *Time*, No. 58, p. 71. It is the play on Noah. It opens with a long conversation between the Deity and Noah, who is warned of the coming flood, and directed to prepare the ark. He and his sons set to work, build the ark, and collect the animals, who are judiciously confined to painted canvas. When all is ready it is considered that a legitimate moment has arrived for the introduction of some fun. The Scriptures give no indication of the character of Noah's wife, but tradition represented her as a shrew. Despite of Noah's entreaties, she will not enter the ark, and with prophetic profanity swears a good deal by Christ and St. John. At last the sons go to fetch her forcibly;

then she insists on first having a jolly carouse with her gossips, and tries to bring them all on board with her. At last she enters and salutes Noah with a good box on the ear, which he receives with most becoming meekness. Meanwhile the waters are rising round the ark, and the tone of the play reverts to one of earnest feeling, as sweet voices from the interior of the ark are heard chanting the Psalm, "Save me, O God, for the waters are come in unto my soul." The next thing is to let loose the dove; and to provide for a return it is naïvely directed that "there shall be a second dove let down with a rope from the mast."

From the Wakefield series, the play of Abraham and Isaac is given in Professor Morley's *Library*, vol. ii., p. 65. Abraham laments the fate of the human race; the Deity resolves to help them if he can find faith on earth, and selects Abraham for trial. Accordingly he calls to Abraham, declares who he is, and orders him to sacrifice Isaac. Abraham receives the command with heavy heart but entire submission, and summons Isaac, who enters with an expression of love to his father which makes the dread sentence still more difficult to execute. Faith, however, triumphs, and they set out with an ass and two boys on the three-days' journey to the Land of Vision. Arrived at the foot of the mount, these two boys are left, Abraham saying to them:

God's blessing have you both in fere [together];
I shall not tarry long you fro.
Boy: Sir, we shall abide you here;
Out of this stede [place] shall we not go.
Abraham: Childre, you are ay to me full dear,
I pray God keep you ever fro woe.

On these lines Professor Morley has the following note:—"There is a touch of pathos here, drawn not only from the love of Abraham toward the son whom his faith causes him to sacrifice, but from his tenderness towards the boys not his, whom he prays that God may ever keep from woe. When

Shakespeare's Brutus, with his soul wrung by the death of Portia, and a great duty before him, is made grand throughout the latter part of the play of *Julius Cæsar* with indications of suppressed emotion, one of its signs is his womanly tenderness towards the boy, who waits upon him in his tent. Abraham's tender words to the two lads whom he leaves with the ass while, with heroic faith in the word of God, however hard it may be to him, he is prepared to offer his beloved son as sacrifice, have a touch in them of the finest human truth."

The conversation between Abraham and Isaac, when the latter is told that *he* is to be the victim, is very touching. The son pleads for his life, asks what evil he has done, says :—

> When I am dead and closed in clay,
> Who then shall be thy son?

Abraham's answers powerfully exhibit natural affection struggling with a sense of religious duty; at last Isaac's appeal to his love for the mother of his child makes him stand back and reflect:

> He speaks so ruefully to me,
> The water shoots in both mine een;
> I were liever than all worldly win
> That I had fon him once unkind;
> But no default I found him in;
> I would be dead for him or pined [pained],
> To slo him thus I think great sin,
> So rueful words I with him find;
> I am full wo that we should twyn [be parted],
> For he will never out of my mind.
> What shall I to his mother say?
> For where he is tyte will she spyr [quickly ask],
> If I tell her, "Run away,"
> Her answer is belife [quickly], "Nay, sir."
> And I am feared her for to flay [frighten],
> I ne wot what I shall say till her [to her].
> He lies full still there as he lay,
> For to I come dare he not stir.

Then God speaks to an angel, sending him to save Isaac, a bidding gladly accepted. Abraham continues his words of bitterness, and has just forced himself to a determination to rush on the lad and slay him, when the angel interposes. Abraham requires assurance that this new command is indeed Divine, but when convinced breaks forth :—

> I thank Thee, Lord, well of goodness,
> That all thus has released me this !
> To speak with thee have I no space
> With my dear son till I have spoken ;
> My good son, thou shalt have grace,
> On thee now will I not be wroken,
> Rise up now, with thy frely [beautiful] face.

And many kisses are the token that all danger is over. Here we have another touch of the finest human truth, including true religious feeling. No father who had passed through such an experience, could spare time for more than a passing word of thankfulness to God, until he had released his son from terror ; then they would both join in a prayer of gratitude.

Between the series of plays from the Old Testament and those from the New it was customary to introduce an Interlude, consisting generally of a Shepherds' play, describing some incident or story connected with the shepherds, who are keeping watch over their flock by night. The Wakefield series contains such a play, given in Professor Morley's *Library*, vol. iii., p. 3, as our earliest specimen of a Play in English, developing and solving a problem of its own with genuine dramatic unity. For be it observed, Miracle Plays are not true dramas, and are not the source of our English drama, which originated in the imitation of classic models. Their interest in connection with our dramatic literature lies in the testimony they bear to the strength of the dramatic instinct. Their interest in connection with religion lies in the testimony they bear to the way in which

this dramatic instinct may be used for the purpose of giving religious instruction. For 250 years these Miracle Plays were teaching the Bible to the English nation. They are well called by the name Miracle, for the words miraculous and religious are practically made synonymous; and this, again, is no unimportant illustration of the teaching of the Church prior to the Reformation.

After the Bible was translated, printed, and published in English, these plays lost their *raison d'être*, and their degeneration was rapid and unedifying. Ober-Ammergau remains the solitary witness of a genuine survival; the real spirit of the movement has passed into the oratorio, and, we may add, into such a drama as Wagner's *Parsifal*. With the aid of music there is no difficulty in maintaining the serious character of the piece; the danger is lest the strain on the feelings become too painful. Religion at the present day is endeavouring to enlist the services of dramatic art in an attempt to regain a hold over the masses of the people, and the only question is, whether it shall be good or bad dramatic art—theatrical sensationalism in the pulpit, or a genuine revival of earnest play-acting in the proper place. At such a time it is well to study the experience of past history.

H. SHAEN SOLLY.

APOSTLES IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

WRITING to his friends at Corinth, the Apostle Paul enumerates in a well-known passage the different spiritual functions and gifts which distinguished the members of the "body of Christ":—"God hath set some in the Church," he tells us, "first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; then miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues." (1 Cor. xii. 28.) On the other hand, "to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons," he wishes grace and peace. (Phil. i. 1, 2.)

There is thus a clear distinction between the ranks of spiritual service and the officers of a nascent church organisation. The first group are marked by the freedom and spontaneity of original impulse; the second imply the beginnings of provision for regular ecclesiastical administration. Between the tendencies which they severally represented it was inevitable that there should be some competition. As the first freshness of enthusiasm spent itself, the promoters of order would naturally gain increasing weight. The temporary elements would be compelled to yield, not perhaps without protest and struggle, to those of greater permanence. And in this process, as power and influence leaned more and more to the representatives of the Church's abiding needs, these functionaries would appropriate to themselves the duties and privileges which had been previously limited to no official class. Is it possible to trace the causes of this change, and sketch the outlines of its course?

The original relations of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, which have been the theme of so much controversy, have

received fresh light in recent years through the investigations of Lightfoot and Hatch in this country, and of Renan and Harnack abroad. The gradual establishment of a uniform Church order, with a single bishop at the head of a small committee of presbyters, in the second century, has been illustrated by these scholars with the fullest learning and skill. And, though differences of opinion may still linger over obscure details, the general fact of the *growth* of the administrative system has been placed beyond reasonable doubt. The attention of inquirers has, however, been largely concentrated on those officers whose permanent place in the Church—and (it must be added) whose claims at the present hour—secure for them the main share of interest. It may be worth while, therefore, to turn aside from discussions on which, no doubt, the last word has not yet been said, and glance for a little while at the other side of early Christian energy. These apostles, these prophets, these teachers, of whom Paul speaks, what do we know about them? What functions had they? Why did they pass out of sight, and leave the field to personages whose service was plainly not regarded originally as of the same spiritual worth? These questions take us into the heart of primitive Christianity. Some fresh clues to their solution have been opened for us by the discovery of the precious little treatise known as the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." These we propose to follow, under the guidance of the scholars who have made the first two centuries their special field of research, and show by what steps the original "liberty of prophesying," common to all believers, passed into the hands of a permanent episcopate, and embodied itself in the doctrine of the Catholic Church.

I.

Christianity originally presented itself in the person of its founder as a new teaching. Jesus sits down on the hillside, opens his mouth, and teaches. The people are astonished at

his teaching; it is delivered with personal authority; it does not, like that of the schools of sacred law, rest upon the men or maxims of the past. He moves through street or synagogue, sowing the word. He is addressed with the title of common courtesy as "Teacher" by Scribe and Pharisee and Sadducee, as well as by less lettered folk. And round him stands a band of disciples to whom he stands especially in the relation of *their* Teacher (Matt. ix. 11). From these he calls forth some to help him in declaring the good news, and sends them forth to preach, as he was preaching, the message that the kingdom is at hand.

Did he give to these messengers any name? It does not appear so in our earliest sources (Mark iii. 14, see Revisers' margin; Matt. x. 1, 5; but comp. Luke vi. 13). But they were naturally designated by friends and hearers, if not by the Teacher himself, by the common Jewish term *Sheluchim* ("the sent," "apostles"). This name was given to representatives who carried letters or instructions from the Jewish leaders at home to colonies of their co-religionists abroad, for example, about the tribute for the Temple; and after the destruction of Jerusalem it was employed to describe the members of the council round the Jewish Patriarch. But though it was the name which came to express the missionary character of the first Christian teachers, it is of rare occurrence in our oldest traditions. In each of the first two gospels it is found but once. In the third gospel and the Acts, on the other hand, and in the letters of Paul, it abounds; for these tell the story of the spread of the new faith. Its sole outward agency was preaching; the good news which its champions carried forth, they could only proclaim by the "ministry of the word." Now in the synagogue, now in the market-place, by the river-side, beyond the city gate at Philippi, in the midst of the Areopagus at Athens, in the upper chamber at Troas, the heroic messenger utters the truth to Jew and Gentile, to critic and believer, and then, having sown the seed, speeds on his way.

Must those, then, whose sympathy he has won, wait for the maintenance and quickening of their trust till his return? Can none among them take up the teaching he has imparted, expand it, enforce it upon other hearts, and so keep alive the kindled flame of hope and love? What provision is there for further edification when the apostle has departed to new fields? The awakened enthusiasm can supply the need. One can prophesy; another can teach; this one has the special gift of unfolding the good news; that one can shepherd the weak or guide the wandering. And so we hear from Paul that "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers;" or, a little later, under the shadow of the same great name, "he gave some to be apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ" (Eph. iv. 11, 12). Apostles, prophets, teachers, then,—who were they? What was their work? Under what conditions was it performed, and what were its results?

II.

The ordinary reader of the New Testament, if asked how many apostles there were, would promptly answer—and perhaps not without a touch of resentment—"twelve." Does not Matthew tell us (x. 2) "the names of the twelve apostles are these"? Was not the number made up after the death of Judas, by the solemn reception of Matthias, chosen by the sacred lot, into the little band (Acts i. 26)? And was not this number divinely sanctioned by the inscription of "the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" on the twelve foundations of the wall of the new Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 14)? This number, at any rate, it seems clear, may be carried back to the original selection of Jesus; and its significance to a Jew is sufficiently indicated by the promise attributed to the Teacher—but how erroneously!—"I say

unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye shall also sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 28).

The book of Acts, however, implies a wider conception of the Apostolate, and this is confirmed at once by the earlier evidence of the letters of Paul, and by the later echoes of Church tradition. When the Church at Antioch is described as appointing Barnabas and Paul to missionary labour, and despatching them to Cyprus (Acts xiii. 1-4), it is plain that we have a record of the mode in which the ranks of the Apostolate were from time to time recruited. In the subsequent narratives they are actually called apostles (xiv. 4, 14). So Paul practically claims the title for himself and Barnabas (1 Cor. ix. 1-6), and elsewhere unites Silvanus and Timothy in the same office with him (1 Thess. i. 1, ii. 6). Still more clearly, however, does he distinguish the apostles from the immediate band of the Master's disciples in his record of the manifestations of the risen Christ. "He appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve; then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once . . then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 5-7). Here it is plain that "all the apostles" constituted a body smaller indeed than the five hundred, but at any rate larger than the Twelve. They gathered fresh adherents, and they spread from land to land,* for the salutations now grouped together at the end of the Epistle to the Romans include greetings to "Andronicus and Junias . . . who are of note among the apostles" (Rom. xvi. 7). It is not without interest to observe that the sex of the second name is doubtful; the margin of the Revised Version gives it as Junia; Origen had no hesitation in presenting it as Julia; even Chrysostom could understand

* Not always, however, with simple missionary intent; Paul's work at Corinth was disturbed by "false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of light" (2 Cor. xi. 13).

it to be a woman's; and Junia figures in the Greek martyrologies as the female companion of Andronicus. If this interpretation were correct, the limits of the Apostolate would have to be enlarged yet further. Paul speaks of the women who laboured with him in the Gospel (Phil. iv. 3); and in the singular work known as the Acts of Paul and Thekla, belonging probably to the end of the second century, the maiden Thekla is expressly designated the "holy apostle."

The tradition that the number of missionary labourers was really far larger than the small circle of the Twelve, and covered a much wider range than the Jerusalem Church was in fact ready to receive, is illustrated in a remarkable way by the narrative of the third gospel concerning the seventy disciples. The most casual reader of the gospels must have been struck with this episode (Luke x. 1-20). How is it that large portions of the discourse addressed by Jesus (according to Matt. x.) to the Twelve disciples, here reappear as delivered to the Seventy? And why Seventy? The symbolic meaning of the number seventy is no less clear than that of the number twelve. It was fixed in Jewish thought as the number of the Gentile nations, founded on the reckoning of races in Gen. x. And the despatch of these messengers, apparently in Samaria (ix. 52), "into every city and place" without restriction to the cities of Israel (Matt. x. 6, 7, 23), signifies in reality the universal character of the Gospel, opening the kingdom of God to men of every race and tongue. The incident can hardly be pronounced historical, though it was naturally accepted as such by the early fathers, and Tertullian did not hesitate to describe the Seventy likewise as apostles. The historian Eusebius, who in after days gathered up the missionary traditions of the Church, is well aware that even the Twelve and the Seventy did not exhaust the tale of apostolic labourers. "Besides these," he asserts, "there were very many who were apostles in imitation of the Twelve," and he refers for proof to the

words of Paul already quoted, "afterwards he appeared to all the apostles." (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 12.)

The Apostolate, then (which held the first place in the Church), was of wider limits than the original band of Galilean disciples whom Jesus gathered round him. On what conditions, by what methods, believers were called to enter it we do not know. But it is plain, from the account of the mission of Barnabas and Paul, that the ranks might be recruited by the spontaneous energy of any local church quite independent of the Twelve at Jerusalem. Some credentials, it is true, might be needed. Doubtless the wandering preachers, who carried the new faith from town to town, bore with them some warrant of their service from the brethren whom they left behind. They were possibly the carriers of letters like those now preserved to us in the names of James or Peter, as Judas and Silas are said in the Acts to have been "sent" (*ἀπεστάλκαμεν*, xv. 27) from the mother church to the Gentiles of Syria and Cilicia. So Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippian Church (Phil. ii. 25) to Paul; and in more general terms Paul speaks of his "brethren, the apostles of the churches, the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. viii. 23), in connection with the contributions collected for the Jerusalem poor. These were not, indeed, charged with any direct missionary function. But these, too, served as links between the scattered communities; they carried news, encouragement, from place to place; they rebuked the indolent, they cheered the forlorn; they quickened declining zeal, or caught up fresh impulses of thought, fresh tendencies of practice; and so, in the absence of any organised means of intercourse or supervision, they bound the independent congregations into one united whole.

But after the age of the Twelve, obscure enough, in spite of the lightning flashes with which Paul's letters illumine it, when Paul and Peter have perished at Rome, when Jerusalem has fallen and the members of the mother church are all dis-

persed, an almost impenetrable darkness settles over the scene. When the veil is removed, in the second century, the East and the West are closely linked by innumerable ties. In Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, North Africa, Gaul, everywhere the faith is spreading. Of all this only the vaguest traditions floated down to later times, and conjecture was busy where knowledge was dumb. Here is the rhetorical description, given by Eusebius two hundred years later, of this missionary activity :—

"Then, setting forth into other lands, they fulfilled the work of evangelists, striving eagerly to preach Christ to those who had not yet heard the word of the faith, and to deliver to them the scripture of the divine gospels. And these, after just laying the foundations of the faith in some foreign parts, and appointing others as shepherds, and handing to them the husbandry over those newly brought in, departed themselves to other lands and nations. The grace and fellow-working of God were with them, inasmuch as many wonderful powers of the divine spirit continued to work through them, so that even after the first hearing whole crowds, to a man, eagerly received into their minds true piety towards the Creator of the world." (*Ecc. Hist.* iii. 37.)

There was, however, another aspect to this zeal for the Gospel. Through the dim haze which hangs over the churches of this era the "teaching of the Twelve Apostles" sends here and there a precious ray. One of the first figures who stands focussed in the light is the travelling apostle. He is the counterpart of the evangelists of Eusebius. But we see him, as a contemporary describes him, possibly grasping or greedy, possibly bringing false doctrine, rather than in the glowing reverence of later ages. The main energy of the Church is still spent on the diffusion of the word. Here are still the three groups—apostles, prophets, teachers—as in the days of Paul. But the apostle no longer comes with demonstration of the spirit and with power. He is under suspicion of seeking a livelihood by trafficking in the sacred name. The labourer, Paul had said, was worthy of his hire; and the

eager charity of the believers had sometimes drawn into their ranks the charlatan who had learned their sacred speech and understood the dialect of the faith. So they must be protected against the idle impostor who assumed the once honoured name, and the itinerant preacher must no longer live at his ease among the poor, who were only too ready to give him of their best. Two nights' lodging at the most shall be allowed him, and bread enough in his wallet for his next day's journey.

"Whosoever, then, comes and teaches you all these things aforesaid, receive him. But if the teacher himself being perverted teach any other teaching so as to undo them, hear him not: but if it be to the increase of righteousness and the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

"But concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the Gospel, so do ye. Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain [more than] one day,* and, if need be, another also: but if he remain three he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goes away, let him take nothing more than bread enough till he reach his night quarters. If he ask for money, he is a false prophet." (*Teaching*, xi. 1-6.)

And so the Apostolate fades away, as the work of evangelisation round the Mediterranean is completed. The Twelve rise into higher and higher eminence above the unknown crowd who shared their title but did not work their work. Nevertheless, the Church could ill have dispensed with these travelling preachers. If they were sometimes the agents of heresy, they were more often the means of breaking down barriers, smoothing differences, and inducing uniformity. They gathered up the local traditions, they collected intelligence, and conveyed it to the centres whence they had issued. The outlying congregations were brought by them into closer relations of sympathy and fellowship, and by their means new works were circulated, and the usages of different

* It is agreed on all hands that the text is here defective. The words inserted make the passage correspond with the similar passage in xii. 3.

churches harmonised. At a time when there was as yet no common bond of formulated faith, when speculative activity was full of energy, but orthodoxy was still unorganised, the missionary apostles, prophets, and teachers formed all kinds of unseen ties, and slowly laid (or at least strengthened) the foundations of that sense of unity which finally expressed itself in the conception of the Catholic Church.

III.

In the passage just cited, the missionary apostolate seems to blend with the prophetic function. The special kind of activity implied in New Testament prophecy will be considered in another paper on the subject. It must suffice here to point out that though Paul enumerates the kinds of spiritual service under the names of "apostles, prophets, teachers," the same individual might possibly render all three. Paul, at any rate, implies that he could prophesy and teach (1 Cor. xiv. 6). The Christian preachers had of necessity certain fundamental principles on which their communities were established, and these tended to assume a distinct form, differentiating them at once from the ideas of Jew or Gentile. They might even be formulated for transmission to others when the teacher was gone. So Paul entreats the Thessalonians to hold the "traditions" which they have been taught (2 Thess. ii. 15), and thanks God that the saints at Rome had become "obedient to that pattern of teaching" to which they had been delivered (Rom. vi. 17). In due time the instructor gathered up the words of the Lord, and Christian teaching came to include the elements of evangelic tradition. It is to this process that we owe the third gospel, as the preface itself informs us, "that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed." And the very title of the little book already cited, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," points to the close connection which its contents exhibit with the ethical and

eschatological materials of the gospels. The language of the Epistle of James, "Be not many teachers, my brethren," implies that there was no lack of readiness in the churches to take up the work. Nor was teaching necessarily confined to the hours of worship. It could be carried on anywhere, and at any time. The instruction of the candidates for admission into the church became an important part of its preliminary discipline. As organisation developed, one, two, or even three years might pass before the "catechumens" (*i.e.*, "those under instruction") were initiated by baptism into the holy mysteries; and the teacher, therefore, might come to take high rank beside the bishop and the presbyter. Such, at least, is the position assigned to him in the writings of Origen (185—252, A.D.), who presided over the great catechetical school at Alexandria which had been raised to such eminence by his predecessors, Pantænus and Clement.

The stress laid by Christianity upon teaching necessarily brought it into contact with other agencies animated by something of the same spirit. The old religions had been too exclusively ritual, and still remained so, to show any activity in this direction. The state cults had never included the instruction of the people among their objects. They promoted the maintenance of order, and served as a political bond, but they had little moral significance. In the first ages of Christianity, however, a new energy appears upon the scene. What the public ministrations of religion cannot attempt, philosophy provides. In the decline of the old faiths, in the conviction of the worthlessness of ceremony save as an instrument of police, the educated minds of the first century of our era took refuge in philosophy. There they found incitements to duty, there they found consolations in sorrow. And philosophy assumed, in consequence, something of the character of a religion. It is well known how the affinities of Stoic thought in the writings of Seneca with some of the central ideas of Paul led to the supposition

that they must have been acquainted with each other, and at last actually generated a fictitious correspondence between the apostle and the philosopher. The need of moral help, the yearning for clearer knowledge about divine things, secured for the philosopher a place among the intimate friends, or even in the homes, of the rich and great. He came to be their adviser, their monitor, their teacher; he was a sort of domestic chaplain or spiritual director. It became something more than an imperial amusement to converse with sophists or listen to their discourses. Chairs of philosophy were established and endowed in the great cities by Vespasian, by Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius. The successful teacher passed from one centre of learning, one social resort, to another. He preached at court, like Dion Chrysostom addressing Trajan on his imperial duties; but he was heard eagerly by the people as well. It was not Christianity only that fell under the displeasure of the ruler of the world. The philosophers had their turn of suffering, when Domitian expelled them all from Italy. Among the fugitives was Dion Chrysostom. With no pomp or retinue, scorning the fopperies of many of the travelling lecturers of the day, he started with nothing but a copy of Plato's Phaedo and the oration of Demosthenes on the Embassy under his arm, and begged his way, as a missionary preacher, all through Thrace to distant Scythia, winning attentive kindness by his discourse.

The most striking type of this apostolate of philosophy is presented by the Cynic. The cosmopolitan spirit of the age was breaking down many distinctions, and the partition walls between the philosophies often became extremely thin. So it came to pass that the elder school of Cynics, after being, so to speak, absorbed into Stoicism, reappears at the end of the first century with a new moral fervour which seeks to win the world to a doctrine of human brotherhood. The Cynic Demonax, of Hadrian's time, is the delight even of the satirical Lucian, who portrays his career avowedly with the

object that "the young who wish to apply themselves to the study of philosophy may derive from his life a model for their imitation." But it is in the discourses of Epictetus that he appears in his loftiest stature. Epictetus, too, had been driven out of Rome by Domitian. He finally settled at Nicopolis, in Epirus, and there in his old age his disciple Arrian gathered up his teachings. So the figure which he draws may stand beside that of the Christian evangelist at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. His outward marks are not dissimilar. He carries nothing but cloak, wallet, and staff. When he arrives at a town he does not even inquire who in it is worthy that he may abide there till he go thence; he has not where to lay his head save the bare ground, and he rejoices in the shelter of the sky, for when he wakes he looks upon the stars. His life is to be one of constant labour for others, so he must have a robust and healthy frame, otherwise his counsels of sacrifice will not wear a sufficiently winning look. And he must have a loud voice capable of addressing a crowd, for it may be his duty to enter the theatre, take his stand upon the tragic stage, and in the midst of the play harangue the audience thus: "Men, whither are you hurrying, what are you doing, wretches? Like blind people you are wandering up and down; you are going by another road, and have left the true road; you seek for prosperity and happiness where they are not, and if another shows you where they are you do not believe him."*

Life, then, is his theme, its meaning and its duties. And these can only be truly apprehended and enforced by one who believes that he has a divine call. "He who without God attempts so great a matter," says Epictetus, emphatically at the outset, "is hateful to God." He does not, therefore, receive his teaching office from men. No school sends him forth as its champion to the world. "He must know that he is sent a messenger from Zeus to men about good things and

* Epictetus, "Discourses," iii. 22. I quote from Mr. Long's translation.

bad things, to show them that they have wandered and are seeking the substance of good and evil where it is not; but where it is they never think." Only this august sanction can possibly support him in the trials and sufferings that will beset him. He must be steadfast in endurance of injuries; it is not *himself* that is struck or reviled or insulted; he does but "give his body that any man who chooses may do with it what he likes." He, meanwhile, must be filled with brotherly love even for those who scourge him; and this high demand makes it imperative that he shall not take up this missionary toil without the prompting and the aid of heaven.

"Reflect more carefully, know thyself, consult the divinity, without God attempt nothing; for if he shall advise you (to do this or anything) be assured that he intends you to become great, or to receive many blows. For this very amusing quality is conjoined to a Cynic: he must be flogged like an ass, and when he is flogged he must love those who flog him, as if he were the father of all and the brother of all."

These preachers of a divine lore must practise even a more complete detachment from the world than their Christian counterparts. The apostle might be married; the Cynic must have no ties; it was not for him to "lead about a wife," or the warfare of life might be too much for him.

"In the present state of things, which is like that of an army placed in battle order, is it not fit that the Cynic should without any distraction be employed only on the ministration of God, able to go about among men, not tied down to the common duties of mankind, nor entangled in the ordinary relations of life, which, if he neglects, he will not maintain the character of an honourable and good man? and if he observes them, he will lose the character of the messenger and spy and herald of God."

Above all things the Cynic must be free from every kind of vice. Only a stainless soul can lend him authority. Kings can employ their guards and the weapons of might; the Cynic has no other force than his conscience. But this is not a mere individual organ; the judgments it pronounces do not depend for their validity upon himself. If he have truly

disciplined his heart by a life of service and of trust, he is in fellowship with the supreme moral law of the universe; he thinks by its aid, he confides himself implicitly to its decrees, and his speech to his brother men becomes firm and clear:—

"When he knows that he has watched and laboured for mankind, and has slept pure, and sleep has left him still purer, and that he thought whatever he has thought as a friend of the gods, as a minister, as a participator of the power of Zeus, and that on all occasions he is ready to say:

'Lead me O Zeus, and thou O Destiny;'

and also, 'If it pleases the gods, so let it be'; why should he not have confidence to speak freely to his own brothers, to his children, in a word to his kinsmen?"

The paternal attitude of the Cynic may be marred by a certain sense of superiority to the rest of men; unlike that burst of living affection with which an apostle writes to his "children." But it cannot be denied that the ideal missionary of philosophy has many noble traits, as he takes his life in hand vowed to the service of righteousness and truth. Unhappily, the Cynics failed to rise to the height of their calling. The spirit of persecution fell upon some of them, as it fell in a later day on the orthodox Christian. In the second century Christian teachers began to open schools for instruction and debate, somewhat resembling those of the professors of the Platonic, the Pythagorean, the Epicurean, and other doctrines. Those who had gone the round of other philosophies, and still remained dissatisfied, often found refuge there. Christianity might even be designated in one aspect as "a philosophy," and its champions still wore the philosopher's cloak. At the head of such a school at Rome was Justin, whose birth at Neapolis (the ancient Shechem, the modern Nablous) made him designate himself as a Samaritan, though it seems doubtful if he really belonged to the Samaritans by race. He was well trained in the current methods of philosophical discussion; he had tried all the systems; and at length he was led by an old man who accosted him one day as he

was meditating by the seashore, to seek rest and peace among the friends of Christ. So he took up the teacher's function, and like many another before and after him, in due time went to Rome. There, sometimes in public, sometimes in the house of one of his disciples, Martin, he passed the days in argument and discourse. Among his opponents was a certain Cynic of great repute, named Crescens. Large crowds were attracted to hear their reasonings; but Crescens remained unconvinced, and did his best to foment the popular dislike on the common charge that the Christians were Atheists. In accordance with his professed philosophy he declared that he despised death; but "he proved his fear of it," says Justin's disciple Tatian, "by scheming to bring Justin and myself to death as to an evil thing." The doom was hanging over Justin when he drew up his second Apology (the date is uncertain, it is variously placed between 145 and about 160 A.D.); "I expect," he wrote, "to be plotted against and fixed to the stake . . . . perhaps by Crescens, that lover of bravado and boasting." The blow fell at last, and Justin was brought with some companions before the city prefect. Eusebius ascribes his arrest to the machinations of Crescens; but it is not clear whether this is really more than his own inference from the language of Justin. The calm confession of his faith, and the refusal of the whole party to join in sacrifice, drew on them sentence of condemnation. They marched to death with words of praise and joy, which were silenced only beneath the headsman's axe.

On some points nowadays we may think the philosophers right and the Christians wrong. The world has not taken quite the course which was expected. But the apostles and teachers of the early faith remain among the heroic figures of its great picture-gallery. The only way to keep the truth alive is to die for it. We have yet witness, even in this our time, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

WILLIAM SHAEN.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS LABOURS FOR SOCIAL PURITY.

THE death of Mr. William Shaen, a brief biographical notice of whom appears in this number of THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER, will be felt as a personal sorrow in many a home, and mourned as a public loss at many a council-board for years to come.

Throughout his life Mr. Shaen had secured the respectful affection of an ever-increasing circle of private friends, and his ripe judgment and strenuous probity gave a value to his co-operation in public work even when the personal share he took in it seemed to be small. Wherever he was known he will be missed; but those who were associated with him in the tasks which he had made more especially his own feel that a blank is left which they can never hope to fill.

Mr. Shaen was an advanced radical and republican in politics. He was an uncompromising and implacable foe to the whole system and underlying principle of the State regulation of vice, and regarded a celibate army as an abomination. He was, moreover, an ardent teetotaler, a convinced homœopathist, and an opponent of vivisection, in whose eyes, for example, Pasteur and all his ways stood condemned at the bar of morality without appeal, whatever science might have to say for or against him. Yet it has been remarked that no man called or thought him a fanatic. Nor is even "enthusiast" the word that most readily occurs to the minds of those who knew him. A marked sobriety and calmness of judgment forced itself upon the recognition of those who least

agreed with his conclusions or accepted his principles; and the wise men of this world, who regarded his deepest convictions as no better than folly, could yet never succeed in thinking him a fool.

Amongst those whose minds were at all in tune with the keynote of his life, it is singular with what spontaneity one word has risen to every lip—it is the word "chivalry." For the essence of chivalry is to devote strength to the service of weakness, and to make the possession of what in other hands is an instrument of oppression—whether it be strength, or knowledge, or social status, or wealth—into a means of protecting the defenceless. In other words, the evolutionism of chivalry, as of Christianity, proceeds by redemption and not elimination; by striving, not to stamp down the lowly that the lordly may rise the higher on their bodies, but to seek and save, to strengthen and uplift; by propagating through direct spiritual genesis from heart to heart those loftier human excellencies which are, indeed, fittest to survive, yet seem to give no advantage in the physical or material struggle for existence, and therefore cannot be entrusted to the action of a higher average "survival" in their possessors. The philosophy, then, which contentedly accepts poverty and misery and oppression as the inevitable incidents of a struggle which itself is necessary to the evolution of a higher humanity, was wholly foreign to his nature. He could not quietly accept a cultured ease for himself bought at the price of grinding poverty for another. But to him the most loathsome of all the shapes taken by this philosophy of tyranny was that in which Mr. Lecky shamelessly presents it when he says of the prostitute:

"Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and despair. On

that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilisations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people."—("European Morals," ii. 299-300).

For in the first place, Mr. Shaen disbelieved in the possibility of purchasing even this one-sided mockery of virtue at the dire price of shame, since he was convinced that all forms of excess keep even pace, and advance with each other, so that Satan can never thus cast out Satan; and in the second place, he would have shrunk in horror from such a purchase, even had it been possible.

A supposed "virtue" which lives upon the vice of another, a recognised class of humanity condemned to exist as a moral sink for the foulness and lust of society, the erection of "unpolluted" womanhood upon terms of association with polluted men, and of repose upon female shame,—all these he knew well were conceptions in accordance with which (as "necessary evils" or otherwise) a great host of medical men, legislators, soldiers, administrators, and "practical" men of the world were endeavouring to organise society; but against these conceptions his whole heart and soul rebelled. He *believed* that the manhood of England was against them, he *knew* that God and the facts were against them; and from first to last he set his face sternly, resolutely, patiently, watchfully, to expose and thwart their apostles.

He was fully alive to the truth represented in the saying "Purity is like silence—if you speak of it it is gone," nor was he one of those moral reformers who, like Lot's wife, are always looking at Sodom and Gomorrhah, even as they flee from them. His eyes were rather fixed on the hills of refuge, and there was no feeling in his presence or in his home of being perpetually pursued by the thoughts of evil. But yet he did not believe that the sin and shame of society could be

killed by silence alone. "Every one must take sides in this matter," he would say, "neutrality is impossible." One might find the weapon appointed for him to wield in public agitation, another in the quieter work of prevention or rescue, another in legal reforms or in putting the existing law into effect, another in the active and aggressive propaganda of a higher code of social purity, and yet another in the silent rebuke of evil or the silent building up of a home or a circle in the light of which "the fiery darts of the enemy" would of themselves be quenched. All must do something. He himself worked in all these ways.

The repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts he hailed with deepest thankfulness; and the recent Criminal Law Amendment Act removed many obstacles which had for years hampered him and others in their attempts to bring gross offenders to justice. But he could not yet regard the cause in which he had fought as triumphant. The great victories that had been won he regarded as an unmistakable declaration of principle, showing that the national conscience was sound, but it remained to follow up the victory in England's dependencies and colonies, to extend it to other countries, and yet more to push home in our legislation, in our police-courts, and in our homes the principles that had been asserted. And in this great cause there remained work to do that amounted almost to a social revolution; for we had entered on a path which must ultimately lead to the full recognition of one moral law for man and woman, and its necessary condition of the full emancipation of women and the assurance of their educational, social, political, and industrial status.

Mr. Shaen's work in the cause of social purity was but one development of his central belief in the harmony between the moral nature of man and the permanent and essential conditions under which he is placed on earth. A "necessary evil" was to him a contradiction in terms. Since a moral

wrong violated the most fundamental laws of life, it must of necessity bring confusion and discord with it everywhere. That injustice and treachery to the weaker civilisations were "necessary" to the safety of European colonists, that torture of dumb animals was "necessary" to the advance of human science, that vice was "necessary" to civilisation, or that dishonesty was "necessary" to success, he could not and did not believe; for, while boldly declaring that even if all that were claimed on behalf of the evil course were true, it would still be wholly insufficient for its justification, he also held that, taken even on its own ground, an evil method of pursuing an admitted good must always be a delusion and a failure.

The depth of Mr. Shaen's reasoned and tried convictions gave him a rare power of tracking practical proposals back to their parent conceptions and forward to their probable results, and also preserved him from ever becoming a victim to the *formula* in which a principle had been provisionally embodied—and to which many of its friends were at once prepared to sacrifice it. This was especially conspicuous in the firmness with which he defended personal rights, and the jealousy with which he looked upon any extension of the discretionary powers of the police, while at the same time fully recognising the value of State action in moral and social concerns, and avoiding the anarchical doctrines of extreme "personalism," if I may coin the word.

A glance at the obituary notice will give some idea of the scope and variety of his public work; but it can give no conception of the extent of the private claims on his time and thought which his generosity admitted. "How many will feel that they have lost their best friend," said one at his funeral. In how many hearts is his image stamped as he sat with grave attention listening to the recital of perplexities or difficulties as though his mind were free from all other

cares or thoughts. How many could say of their conferences with him—

> Io comminciai, come colui che brama,
> Dubbitando, consiglio da persona,
> Che vide e vuol dirittamente, ed ama.*

Those with whom he was brought into professional relations felt the personal interest that he threw into his work for them; and he, on his side, realised the moral opportunities and responsibilities of his profession so deeply that it was to him a veritable ministry. I was present once when his name had been coupled in a speech with that of a minister of religion, and the speaker had remarked that the legal profession, though not so directly concerned with the strengthening of the moral life as that of the minister, was yet capable of being made an instrument of good, and so forth. I shall never forget Mr. Shaen's quiet but decisive rejection of this qualified recognition of the character of his profession, and his vindication for it of a moral mission as direct, as imperative, and as solemn as that of the Christian ministry itself. It was in this spirit that he worked. That, so working, he created a great practice, is surely an indication that if a man does not ask leave of the world to be upright, but takes it without asking, the world, in its turn, though somewhat bewildered, will yet feel that it has need of him.

Some public-spirited men seem to pay the price of their incessant devotion to others by ceasing to have any life of their own, till at last one wonders what they would do if they had succeeded in removing the evils against which they contend. They try to lift others into a life which has meanwhile ceased to exist for themselves. It was conspicuously otherwise with Mr. Shaen. Throughout a life that had been sorely tried by sorrow, as well as oppressed by the burden of the unrighted wrongs of the world, he retained a power of

* "I began as he who, in his doubt, seeks counsel of one whose sight and will are straight and whose love is true."

peaceful enjoyment and a simplicity and reposefulness of character that gave a certain graciousness and wealth to his life which it is not easy further to describe. His sustained earnestness and habitual preoccupation with grave subjects had not maimed—even when failing strength began to depress—his powers of conversation; in which, indeed, an occasional flash of momentary impatience against random traversing of his most cherished beliefs would suffice to show that his broad and patient sympathies had not been built up without self-discipline. The perpetual immersion in pamphlets, papers, and manifestoes, and the regretful setting aside of books—scarcely more than looked at—till a more convenient season should give him leave to read them, had not quenched his love of literature. Of that yet deeper, twin life of "heaven and home," I may not speak. Mr. Shaen himself seldom spoke of it in words, but, like Francis of Assisi, he had "made his whole body a tongue," with which he spoke and yet speaketh of these deeper things to whoso hath ears to hear.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

WHAT is meant by "Imperial Federation," however imperfectly the words convey their intended meaning, is a more reasonable, and therefore a more permanent, political union of such portions of the English dominions as at present enjoy "responsible government."

The fact is that the Colonies, which at present enjoy self-government in their internal concerns, have no voice at all in their external affairs, and that dependence in the one sphere cannot long be compatible with independence in the other. It is neither reasonable nor just, that those of our fellow-citizens over sea who enjoy equal freedom with us in matters which are proper to each of us, should be subject to us in matters which are common to both of us; and such a state of things cannot, and indeed was never intended, to last.

The great fact of modern English history is that in half a century Englishmen abroad will number more than Englishmen at home, and in these circumstances it is certain that before long most of our Colonies will either have obtained the Imperial franchise or have asserted their complete independence. This is the alternative which presents itself before us to-day; but it is a good deal prejudged because the conditions which existed until recently did not present the alternative at all. The distance, as measured in time, which separated us from our Colonies before the discoveries of steam and electricity, rendered it impossible to conceive of a system of representation throughout such an extended dominion, and hence it was that the aphorism of Turgot that "Colonies are like fruit, which cling to the tree only till they ripen," became in general estimation an established proposition.

Our Colonies, like those of the rest of the modern world, were founded partly as commercial enterprises and partly as penal settlements, and the probability of their ever attaining to the position of independent nations either was not contemplated, or, if it was, no account was taken of it. It is obvious, from the history of our Colonial policy, that we regarded them at the first as constituted for our convenience, and as intended to contribute to our profit, and when it became apparent to us, by their growing independence and national spirit, that they meant to get something out of us which was more nearly equivalent to what we had been getting out of them, we scarcely concealed our impatience at the altered relationship.

After administering our Colonies as conquered provinces, we first reluctantly conceded them the semblance of Parliamentary institutions, subject to the veto of an executive removable only by the Crown, and finally granted them "responsible government," but only in dependence and not in association. It was evident, in fact, from the too ample measure of internal independence then accorded them, which sacrificed important opportunities of administrative unity, and from the too restricted measure of external independence, which contained the seeds of future discontent, that we regarded the tie which bound us as a continually attenuating one.

But things have changed since 1840. Since then the relative importance of England and her Colonies, as well as the relative importance of England and the other great powers, has changed; and while our need of political union is greater than it has ever been, and likely to increase in future, improved communication, by promoting social organisations, has multiplied the instances and extended the area of successful federations.

How much longer the present relation will last must depend upon circumstances. Foreign aggression, and the

need of co-operation for efficient and economical defence, may at any time precipitate the change, if the constitutional development consequent upon the breakdown of our Parliamentary institutions and the cession of local government to the integral portions of the United Kingdom do not sooner induce it. But what is important for us to remember is, that the issue, when it comes, will depend largely, if not entirely, upon the anticipations we form in regard to it beforehand; and hence the necessity to make up our minds as soon as possible as to what our true interest requires.

When we consider the alternatives of separation or closer union, it appears natural and commendable that we should seek to expand within the limits of our nationality for the sake of both the moral and material benefits which, in the present state of civilisation, are likely to accrue from the more effective co-operation which such expansion involves. It is always desirable, if it be possible and legitimate, to enlarge the area and to multiply the instances of political unity, since by so doing we convert a relation of indifference into one of sympathy between the included nations; and by changing small states into big ones we diminish the possibilities of war. It has been truly said that the greatest of all British interests is *peace*, and there can be no surer guarantee for this than in a united English Empire. Its combined resources would be an overwhelming power, in the security of which we could address ourselves, without dread or danger, to the full and free development of our people and resources. We in England owe much of the orderly progress and political stability, which is at once the admiration and the envy of our Continental neighbours, to that absence of social pressure which is due to the free expansion of our population. What we want, above all things, is time in which the social question, which is growing, but which has not yet been thought out, may ripen—time in which to effect those social adjustments which the enlightenment of the few and

the enfranchisement of the many are demanding—and if we are to hinder this by cutting ourselves off from the unoccupied territory within the limits of our State, we run the risk that reform may be outstripped by revolution, and that our annals may be disfigured by civil strife. And there can be no better security for freedom, or safer assurance of progress, than for an overwhelming power to be possessed by the people which of all others is best calculated to wield it; for, however it may be ignored by those cosmopolitan politicians who are the friends of every country but their own, "England, whatever may have been its errors in the past, has attained to more of conscience and moral principle in its dealings with foreigners than any other great nation seems ever to conceive as possible or recognise as desirable."

Among the minor benefits which would result from federation, there would be, to our Colonies *a larger sphere for the development of their public life*, and to us *the separation of our internal and external administrations*. Surely nothing can be much less satisfactory than the working of our existing constitution. Our overburdened executive is always pleading stress of business at home in mitigation of its mistakes abroad, and the pressure of foreign affairs in extenuation of its neglect of domestic legislation. Nor is this all, for so long as one Administration combines both functions, party differences, which divide us in our private affairs, will prevent our being as united as we otherwise should be in our dealings with foreigners. And how much better able should we be to take a large and a dispassionate view of our disagreements with others if we had to take into our counsels those who were not so immediately involved, and whose passions were not so directly enlisted.

Nor are the material benefits which would ensue from political union less conspicuous. Under the domination of Cobdenic cosmopolitanism in our political economy, we in England have so specialised our industry that we have

become a country of great cities, in which rusticity is monopolised by the rich; and we are content to live in a chronic state of famine, while we are bereft of the hardy and abundant peasantry which is the life-blood of a nation. But while this is our weakness in isolation, our strength in union is unimpaired so long as our food supply and our rural population exist for us in those portions of our Empire beyond the sea. Is it not obvious that the free exchange of products within the limits which alone constitute our Empire a self-sufficing unit is vital to the well-being of its parts? The mobility of labour and capital is greater within the limits of nationality than without them, and if we in England and they in the Colonies are to benefit to the fullest extent by the transference of those agents of production from where they are less to where they are more wanted, it must be by "building broad bridges across the sea," over which they may freely pass.

These are sufficient reasons to show that we should be agreed as to the end we should have in view. Sufficient to show the necessity for, if not the nature of, the change which, in our highest interests, we ought to seek. It is not necessary that we should be at once prepared with any cut-and-dried constitution. There is no reason why we should break with the past in deference to any theory. We may promote the desired development by adaptive changes which experience may suggest when circumstances require them.

There are a great variety of Federal Governments, whose systems are more or less adapted to their peculiar needs, which may serve us as examples. Let us remember that it is not desirable or wise for Englishmen at home to shape the common policy of the Empire without taking counsel with Englishmen abroad, and that we may accomplish Federation by the constitutional reconstruction consequent upon an act of enfranchisement, the adoption of which is at once our moral duty and our national interest.

H. R. BEETON.

"THE SERVICE OF MAN."*

MR. MORISON gives to the book he has written the title of the book he would have written. This volume is but the attack upon Christianity by which he would prepare the way for Positivism. Christianity, he assures us in his first chapter, is dying, and with it goes theism, and we had better prepare our minds for its successor. Already the transference of allegiance to a new set of first principles is being effected, not without "considerable loss of continuity by the way."

"Signs are not wanting that the prevalent anarchy in thought is leading to anarchy in morals. Numbers who have put off belief in God have not put on belief in Humanity. A common and lofty standard of duty is being trampled down in the fierce battle of incompatible principles. The present indecision is becoming not only wearisome, but injurious to the best interests of man. Let Theology be restored, by all means, to her old position of queen of the sciences, if it can be done in the light of modern knowledge and common sense. If this cannot be done frankly, on the faith of witnesses who can stand cross-examination in open court, let us honestly take our side and admit that the *Civitas Dei* is a dream of the past, and that we should strive to realise that *Regnum Hominis* which Bacon foresaw and predicted" (p. 10).

In the second chapter, on the "Decay of Belief," the necessary failure of the apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to meet the objections to Christianity and theism raised in the nineteenth, is forcibly set forth. We do not care to dispute Mr. Morison's statements on this point, and the sooner the defenders of Faith recognise what it is they have now to defend, and against what manner of

* *The Service of Man.* An Essay towards the Religion of the Future. By JAMES COTTER MORISON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1887.

adversaries, and how it may be defended, the better it will be for Christianity. The old arguments do not touch a reasoner, who boldly declares—

"The notion that God wanted to be propitiated by the death of the innocent Christ is a thoroughly base and barbarous one" (p. 38).

"It is found impossible to reconcile the attributes of mercy and benevolence in the Creator with the condition of the animal world, which presents an almost continued scene of carnage and cruelty, and has done so from its commencement" (p. 47).

We may accept or deny either of these statements as we please, but we cannot meet them with the old arguments.

Mr. Morison's objection against Christianity is that it is not (1) such a source of consolation and mental solace, (2) such a support of morals, as it is supposed to be.

That Christianity has failed as a source of consolation, and that it has been the source of fear and mental torment rather than of peace and comfort, Mr. Morison seeks to prove by quotations from Jeremy Taylor, Thomas à Kempis, Cardinal Wiseman, "that strange book of Bunyan's, 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners,'" the sad story of Jacqueline Pascal, Harvey's "Meditations Among the Tombs," and Boston's "Fourfold State."

That Christianity has failed as a guide to conduct and a support of morals he would prove, first, by showing that Christianity is not intended to make men good, but to save them from the consequences of their sins, "Salvation in the next world is the object of the scheme, not morality in this, and although the two objects may occasionally coincide, it is only a casual coincidence" (p. 89), "the doctrine of all Christians in the final result is antinomian and positively immoral" (p. 92); and, secondly, by practical illustrations of the vice of the Church in what Mr. Morison calls "the Ages of Faith." In support of the first of these assertions the exponents of Christianity selected are Pusey, St. Alphonso de Liguori, and Spurgeon; in support of the second assertion he adduces the

state of morals in England under the Prince Regent and Queen Anne, the court and the Catholic clergy of France in the reign of Louis XIV., the conduct of the soldiers of the Covenanting army under General Monro, Spanish feuds and love affairs in the seventeenth century, and the *Registrum Visitationum* of Archbishop Rigaud in the thirteenth century.

Of course, if Christianity is neither a source of consolation nor a support of morals, its removal will not lead necessarily to any outbreak of crime or debauchery, and this third point is, therefore, not specifically dealt with; but before coming to the "Service of Man," Mr. Morison fulfils the duty, more congenial to himself, we feel sure, as well as more pleasing to the reader, of acknowledging "What Christianity has done." Christianity, then, he declares to be, or must we say to have been, "one of the greatest phases of human evolution' (p. 173). Yet, notwithstanding this, its sudden rise was followed by a period of depression and gloom, and now "the modern man, reformed and regenerated by knowledge," looks across "the great hollow which is roughly called the Middle Ages," and recognises on the opposite ridge of antiquity "many more ties of kinship and sympathy than in the mighty concave between, wherein dwell his Christian ancestry, in the dim light of scholasticism and theology" (pp. 177 *sq.*).

In those dark intervening times of war, pestilence, and famine, arbitrary tyranny, and military despotism, there could be no public life for man, no settled industry, no pursuit of knowledge, for its own sake. "There was only one thing left for him to do—to serve God." This was the one grand idea left from the philosophy of Greece and the religion of Judæa, the belief in a single supreme God. Of this, more hereafter. At present we may pass on to the consideration of the Political, Philosophical, and Spiritual action of Christianity. The Political action is bad because Christianity insists on passive obedience. On speculative thought the action of Christianity has been salutary in virtue of the

"splendid far-reaching discussions which have repeatedly filled the Christian Churches with the most vigorous and brilliant intellectual life" (p. 190). "It is in the action of Christian doctrine on the human spirit, that we see its power in the highest and most characteristic form" (p. 192).

And now, when we come to this third head, to the only thing which Christianity has ever claimed to do directly, all else simply following from this—viz., raising men to think the thoughts of God, and to know that they are the sons and daughters of God—when we come to this, the influence of Christianity on the spirit of man, the biographer of St. Bernard is himself again. "The true Christian saint," he says, "though a rare phenomenon, is one of the most wonderful to be witnessed in the moral world. . . . . The Christian doctrine has a power of cultivating and developing saintliness which has no equal in any other creed or philosophy. When it gets a firm hold of a promising subject, one with a heart and head warm and strong enough to grasp its full import and scope, then it strengthens the will, raises and purifies the affections, and finally achieves a conquest over the baser self in man, of which the result is a character none the less beautiful and soul-subduing because it is wholly beyond imitation by the less spiritually endowed" (pp. 196 *sq.*) St. Louis (King of France), Sir Thomas More, Pascal, Sister Agnes Jones, Mother Margaret Hallahan, Sister Dora Pattison, and as a contrast yet still sharing at last their "saintly" demeanour because of his Christianity, Dr. Rowland Taylor: these are the men and women whom the Positivist selects as his types of Christian character; and we ask ourselves, not without some sense of shame, how many Christians will recognise them *all?*

Truly this catholic appreciation of varieties of Christian character is admirable; but, alas! they all shrink into insignificance before Dr. Jenner. "Have all the self-sacrifices of all the Doras and Sisters of Mercy in the world spared man-

kind a tithe of the suffering which has been prevented by vaccination?"* Science is to do more for man than ever religion has done. And as for the evils that Science fails to cure, and religion has helped men to bear,

"Admitting that there will, perhaps, be always a residue of unconquerable evils which science cannot hope to remove, it is maintained that the resignation produced by a clear view of the impossible and inevitable is more complete than that which never wholly renounces the hope of divine aid" (p. 239).

The resignation of despair, that is to say, is more complete than the resignation of faith.

So far we have given only Mr. Morrison's account of that system which calls itself—or, may we not say, some of those systems which call themselves?—Christianity. If we have comparatively little to say on the rest of his book, it is partly because there is comparatively little of it, and partly because we would not criticise too severely what the author himself admits is imperfect, and intended to hint, rather than to set forth, the coming "Service of Man," which is to succeed Christianity as a religion. Even in the last two chapters, which deal with "The Service of Man" and "The Cultivation of Human Nature," the writer recurs again to Christianity, as set forth in the persons of certain vicious Scotch lords of last century and Dr. Johnson, and then proceeds to an attack upon the doctrine of Free Will; and there are not, in all, fifty pages of the book which really deal with the Service of Man, except in so far as the purer aspects of Christianity set it forth. And even these few pages amount mainly to a

* As regards this example of vaccination it may be interesting to note that, whatever the success of vaccination may have been as a temporary expedient to prevent the spread of small-pox, pending the discovery of the proper methods of preventing or curing the disease; yet, as a matter of fact, if the amount of actual *pain* could be estimated, it has been at best dispersed over a greater number of sufferers in a slighter degree. The actual amount of physical pain caused by *universal*, and in certain classes one may almost say *universally careless*, vaccination having been at least equal to what was formerly suffered from small-pox.

plea for better and wiser education—a better "bringing up" of the young and pliant that they may be formed into men and women whose virtue will be determined for them, and not left to their own erroneous sense of responsibility. Into the thorny Free Will controversy we will not enter further than to ask, Why should we undertake this laborious, and to us profitless, task, if we have no moral responsibility in the matter? The answer appears to be that "the welfare of society demands the suppression or elimination of bad men, and the careful cultivation of the good only" (p. 293).

And this brings us, after all, to the point at real issue. The inextricable jumble of Scotch Calvinistic theology, and the laxity of morals among the celibate priesthood of Rome, the illogical character of certain dogmas which have arisen among Christians, but which have no more to do with the essence of Christianity than the details of Parliamentary Procedure have to do with the essence of English Patriotism —these are questions of the history of humanity, of the development of human thought, to be sifted by the student, more critically than Mr. Morison has thought fit to sift them. But this question of elimination and suppression, or of redemption and salvation, and we speak not now of any future beyond the grave, but of human life as it is here in this world, of the actual men and women and children in our great cities and in our villages, in our streets, at our doors —nay, in our own homes, for the same principle which is applied to those who are without must be applied to those also who are within—this question of suppression or salvation is a question not of history for the student and critic, but of *life* from day to day. Are we to seek and to save that which is lost, or to leave it to perish? or, perchance, hearing the pitiful cry that will not let us rest till we have done something, are we to go out and as mercifully as may be slay it? Truly, if this is the new gospel, we shall have need of the resignation of despair, as surely as the old Calvinists had

of their strange resignation amid the destruction of the many and the salvation of the few. For it is still only the few who are to be saved. This suppression will not people the world with saints. It is no new thing. It has been tried. The Christian Church herself has tried it in the religious sphere, and failed utterly. English criminal law has tried it in regard to the simplest of moral questions, viz., forgery and theft, and failed and given it up. The priesthood of physical science will try it, in regard to disease, if the common sense of the English people will let them, and they will fail also. If there is a lesson of human history plain and indisputable, it is that evil can be overcome by nothing except good.*

The falsity of the whole principle of "suppression" as opposed to the principle of "redemption" is shown by the very fact that nowhere can it be put into practice without flying in the face of all that is most essentially human in man. "We may hope," says Mr. Morison, "that, in the worst of times, the honest proletary will not selfishly refuse to share his half loaf with his famishing fellow. But, for the sake of the race, we may also trust he will peremptorily refuse to share his crust with his reckless brother's eight or ten children." (Pref., p. xxix.) A very simple but absolutely insurmountable difficulty at once presents itself here. Unless "the honest proletary" can reduce his reckless brother from human nature to a level lower than that of the brutes, he cannot prevent him from at once sub-dividing his crust and sharing it with his "eight or ten children." But the fact is that the different treatment here prescribed for parent and for children is precisely the reverse of what on purely scientific grounds it ought to be. The parent has already shown himself less "fitted to survive" than his fellow; the children may turn out to be better than their father; such things have

* We do not mean, of course, that persecution never succeeds for a time; it may succeed in a given locality for centuries; but, as Mr. Morison himself says, speaking of Roman Catholic persecutions, "It is a method difficult of prolonged application, and it is generally avenged" (p. 250).

happened, else were we all still hairy apes dwelling in trees. The parents, though "models of virtue according to conventional ethics," must be "made to realise that few evil-doers are more injurious to the world than they are," because they have added to its struggling population (p. xxviii.); the children we should suppose may yet be trained to the severe morality of celibacy which has been so beautifully exemplified for us in the annals of the Roman Catholic priesthood in the "Ages of Faith." It would surely be better for the "honest proletary" to "suppress" the parents, and take the children to his heart—if he still has one, for we very much misdoubt the effect on any man or any state (which is but a body of men after all) of this policy of "suppression" actually and consistently carried out.

Moreover, there is another difficulty in the way of this policy of suppression. There is no final outcome of it possible except that the select few, or possibly the one supremely wise man, shall be left alone in the earth. When we have suppressed the roughs of the river-side we must suppress the incorrigible pickpocket; and having disposed of the incorrigibly dishonest we must deal with the incorrigibly licentious in the same manner; and after him with the vulgar-minded or violent-tempered, who are always in danger of replenishing the ranks below or by their example injuring the ranks above; and then how about the good-natured, but too easy-going, man who causes endless trouble and loss to humanity at large? The method is not only one which may fail to assert itself sufficiently, as has undoubtedly been the case with the Christian method, but it is one that has failed where it has asserted itself, and which, if anything is certain about humanity, is certain to fail just in proportion as it succeeds in asserting itself.

A method which always fails, first here and then there, the failure seeming now due to this secondary cause and now to that, really owes its failure to the fact that it is opposed

to some underlying principle or law which we cannot control, and to which we must submit, with the resignation either of despair or of faith. And the law of humanity, whether it be a law of God manifest in man, as we believe, or solely a law of Humanity itself, as the Positivist would maintain, is the law of Love. The sacrifice which it demands is the sacrifice of self and not of others. Its altruism is not the vicarious altruism of Caiaphas who counselled that it was expedient, that one man should die for the people, but the altruism of the Son of Man who laid down his own life for his friends.

And it is this that gives to Christianity its power and its vitality, and has enabled it to survive the crushing burdens of dogma and organisation which Mr. Morison appears to mistake for its essence. Its gospel is the gospel of the Love that saves; and its law is the law of the Love that worketh righteousness. And this is the cause of that most striking fact, that over and over again those who have put aside the conventional doctrines and practices of the Christian church, and come into contact with the spirit of Christianity itself, have been spiritually uplifted and consoled, and morally strengthened and ennobled, even though the particular doctrinal views which they have adopted may seem to tend less to such consolation and moral strength than those they have left.

No doubt the Lutheran *doctrines* concerning good works, &c., would appear less calculated to promote a moral life than the Roman Catholic system. It was not unnatural for Mr. Morison to assume that Luther would have read the chapter of the book before us which describes the woful immorality of the Christian Church "without discomposure," and replied that the "object of Christianity is to save men's souls in the next world, not to make them moral in this." But as a matter of fact, Luther himself and the other Reformers who were brought into some sort of contact with the original sources and the

spirit of Christianity, did not regard this with composure; it was a growing burden and disappointment to them. And when we turn to the founder of the whole system of Christian theology, and especially of the doctrines of "grace" and "salvation by faith," we find his very arguments in favour of these doctrines constantly interrupted by passionate moral exhortations, warnings, and threats. And if we look back again to the founder, not of Christian Theology, but of Christianity itself, then we see that this righteousness of life is the very principle of Christianity, and that this is why it reasserts itself over and over again in the midst of theologies, organisations, philosophies which have developed among Christians, and been more or less Christianised, but which are themselves not specifically Christian.

There is no denying the fact that many of the religious theories, as we may call them, of Christians are logically inconsistent with any true service of man. Yet there is another fact, equally undeniable, that the professors of these theories are often most exemplary in their service of man. Why? Simply because, whatever the creeds of Christians may be, the spirit of Christianity is the spirit of the highest service of man; and men, happily, are not always strictly logical. There has been much of this return to the spirit of Christianity lately. "Christian doctrine, or, at least, Christian practice," says Mr. Morison, "has been gradually brought into harmony with human and terrestrial wants" (p. 259). We should prefer to say that men are beginning to see again in new ways that Christianity is always in harmony with the highest human wants, whether in a terrestrial or a celestial world. This, also, has ever asserted itself from time to time in various ways. The Catholic theory of good works, and especially of charity, is a selfish one, it is said. The Protestant lady was shocked at the French sister, nursing her in a hospital, who bid her spare her thanks. Not for her sake, the sister assured the heretic, was this kindness and devotion

shown to her. "Ce n'est que pour faire mon salut." Selfish enough, no doubt; but, after all, it is impossible permanently to divorce from the service of man a religion which bids its adherents, as the condition of their own salvation, do good, not only to their own family or class or church, but to strangers, to heretics, and even to enemies. The total elimination of the possibility of selfishness from good works can never be attained, because it is and must be true that "that which is not good for the hive is not good for the bee," and *vice versâ*. The higher we rise in our understanding of the good the truer this becomes. But the danger may be practically avoided in many ways. Luther tried the dangerous doctrine of salvation by faith. That, at least, leaves good works, when they are done, free from all selfishness, and hence the wonderful beauty and self-forgetfulness of many evangelical lives. The motive power is no longer hope of reward, but loving gratitude to Christ.*

The method coming more into favour now, for eradicating selfishness from a faith which gratefully acknowledges that God does reward righteousness, is not the method of an elaborate theological system, but of a simple good-will to men, that goes about doing good, and is content to accept just such a returning share as God wills, whether in the form of an improved state of things here, or a sweeter peace hereafter, or human gratitude or the divine love. In the morning the

* It is strange that, in the face of these two different connections, it should be asserted that the coincidence between salvation in the next world and morality in this in the Christian scheme is "only a casual coincidence" (p. 89). Moreover, Jesus and Paul are at least as good exponents of Christianity as either the Roman Church or Martin Luther. The former says, "Love your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest; for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil." The latter, after rebuking the sins of his readers, declares plainly "they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." It is only the student of the mediæval and Reformation theology, who has forgotten both the earlier and the later Christianity, that can declare the coincidence between salvation and morality to be *casual*. So ineradicable is the connection in Christianity that no Christian system, however unfavourable to it, has been able entirely to dissolve it.

labourers must know the terms before they begin their work, bargaining for their penny a day. *If* God will be with them, and give them bread to eat and raiment to put on, *then* he shall be their God. As the day draws on and the shadows lengthen they become less confident and more trustful, and go forth to labour knowing only that whatsoever is *right* that shall they receive.

It is this growing sense of the possibility of the harmony of our will and action with the will and action of God—that man is not naturally opposed to God, but naturally at one with God—which is the hope of the higher theism, which is to succeed, as we believe, the older theologies. And this, again, is Christianity. It is quite true that "no one wants, no one can care for, an abstract God, an Unknowable, an Absolute, with whom we can stand in no human or intelligible relation," and that "the only God whom Western Europeans, with a Christianity of a thousand years behind them, can worship is the God . . . . of St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and of the innumerable 'blessed saints,' canonised or not, who peopled the Ages of Faith" (p. 48). But it does not follow that he need be just such as they imagined when they learned to pray at their mother's knee, or even that he must be a "Personality," or "a brother," or "the admirable conception of the Man God, Jesus Christ," or even an "anthropomorphic God" (*ib.*). Paul's conception of God, for example, was certainly not all these; we doubt if it was any of them, in the sense in which these words are now understood. Nor shall we attempt any other definition. It is not in virtue of its definitions that Christianity has survived so far; but because it has had a power, above all other religions, to bring the spirit of man into harmony with the God whom we may as yet only "ignorantly" worship, but in whom, nevertheless, we even now "live and move and have our being."

FRANCIS H. JONES.

LORD GIFFORD'S LECTURESHIPS OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

IT is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of Lord Gifford's bequest to the Scotch Universities for the foundation of Lectures on Natural Theology. We give the whole of those portions of his will which set forth the object and conditions of the lectures, and also such parts as throw light upon Lord Gifford's own theological position.

"I give my body to the earth as it was before, in order that the enduring blocks and materials thereof may be employed in new combinations; and I give my soul to God, in whom and with whom it always was, to be in him and with him for ever in closer and more conscious union. . . . I having been for many years deeply and firmly convinced that the true knowledge of God, that is of the Being, Nature, and Attributes of the Infinite, of the All, of the First and the Only Cause, that is, the One and Only Substance and Being, and the true and felt knowledge (not mere nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to him, and of the true foundations of all ethics and morals—being, I say, convinced that this knowledge, when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest wellbeing and the security of his upward progress, I have resolved, from the 'residue' of my estate as aforesaid, to institute and found, in connection, if possible, with the Scottish Universities, lectureships or classes for the promotion of the study of said subjects, and for the teaching and diffusion of sound views regarding them, among the whole population of Scotland. [Here follow the bequests, viz.: £25,000 to the University of Edinburgh, £20,000 each to Glasgow and Aberdeen, £15,000 to St. Andrew's.] But said bequests are made, and said sums are to be paid in trust only for the following purpose, that is to say, for the purpose of establishing in each of the four cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews, a Lectureship or popular Chair for 'promoting, advancing, teaching, and diffusing the study of Natural Theology,' in the widest sense of that term, in other words, 'the knowledge of God, the Infinite, the All, the First and Only Cause, the One and the Sole Substance, the Sole Being, the Sole Reality, and the Sole Existence, the knowledge of his nature and attributes, the knowledge of the relations which men and the whole universe bear to him, the knowledge of the nature and foundations of ethics or morals, and of all obligations and duties thence arising.' The Senatus Academicus in each of the four Universities, or the bodies substituted to them respectively, shall be the patrons of the several lectureships, and the administrators of the said respective endowments, and of the affairs of each lectureship in each city. I call them for shortness simply the 'patrons.' Now, I leave all the details and arrangements of each lectureship in the hands and in the discretion of the 'patrons' respectively, who shall have full power from time to time to adjust and regulate the same in conformity as closely as possible to the following brief principles and directions, which shall be binding on each and all of the 'patrons' as far as practicable and possible. I only indicate leading principles. [The first two "principles" relate only to investment and administration of the funds.] (3.) The lecturers shall be appointed from time to time, each for a period of only two years and no longer, but the same lecturer may be reappointed for other two periods of two years each, provided that no one person shall hold the office of lecturer in the same city for more than six years in all, it being desirable that the subjects be promoted and illustrated by different minds. (4) The lecturers appointed shall be subjected to no test of any kind, and shall not be required to take any oath, or to emit or subscribe any declaration of belief,

or to make any promise of any kind; they may be of any denomination whatever, or of no denomination at all (and many earnest and high-minded men prefer to belong to no ecclesiastical denomination); they may be of any religion or way of thinking, or, as is sometimes said, they may be of no religion, or they may be so-called sceptics or agnostics or freethinkers, provided only that the 'patrons' will use diligence to secure that they be able, reverent men, true thinkers, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth. (5) I wish the lecturers to treat their subject as a strictly natural science, the greatest of all possible sciences—indeed, in one sense, the only science, that of Infinite Being—without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special, exceptional, or so-called miraculous, revelation. I wish it considered just as astronomy or chemistry is. I have intentionally indicated, in describing the subject of the lectures, the general aspect which personally I would expect the lectures to bear, but the lecturers shall be under no restraint whatever in their treatment of their theme; for example, they may freely discuss (and it may be well to do so) all questions about man's conceptions of God or the Infinite, their origin, nature, and truth, whether he can have any such conceptions, whether God is under any or what limitations, and so on, as I am persuaded that nothing but good can result from free discussion. (6) The lectures shall be public and popular, that is, open not only to students of the Universities, but to the whole community without matriculation, as I think that the subject should be studied and known by all, whether receiving University instruction or not. I think such knowledge, if real, lies at the root of all well-being. I suggest that the fee should be as small as is consistent with the due management of the lectureships, and the due appreciation of the lectures. Besides a general and popular audience, I advise that the lecturers also have a special class of students conducted in the usual way, and instructed by examination and thesis, written and oral. (7) As to the number of the lectures, much must be left to the discretion of the lecturer. I should think the subject cannot be treated even in abstract in less than twenty lectures, and they may be many times that number. (8) The 'patrons,' if and when they see fit, may make grants from the free income of the endowments for or towards the publication in a cheap form of any of the lectures, or any part thereof, or abstracts thereof, which they may think likely to be useful. . . . . And my desire and hope is that these lectureships and lectures may promote and advance among all classes of the community the true knowledge of Him who is, and there is none and nothing beside Him, in whom we live and move and have our being, and in whom all things consist, and of man's real relationship to Him whom truly to know is life everlasting."

It may be interesting to note three characteristic expressions of opinion on the bequest, in the *Times*, the *Spectator*, and the *Scotsman*.

The *Times* regards the whole scheme as "doubtful and perilous," and says that the chair might be occupied by Canon Liddon or Colonel Ingersoll, and will be such that Hume could have filled it with no strain on his convictions. "The doctrine taught will be what the patrons for the time being prefer. The founder stipulates only for something large and loose . . . . . If the spirit of the bequest be faithfully carried out endless diversity of opinion will be promulgated; an intellectual babel will ensue. . . . . We can hardly entertain the hope that the Universities will refuse to have anything to do with so large a donation. But it may be anticipated that those who appoint the lecturers will seek, so far as they can, to correct the inherent defects of the scheme, and prevent it becoming a means of securing high reward for indifferent sermons or extremely popoular philosophy, or obtaining a perpetual supply of third-rate discussions of the highest proplems."

The *Spectator* speaks of the will as "a document of the greatest interest," and by no means deserving "the kind of benignant contempt" which

the *Times* pours on it. Perhaps one of its defects is the limitation implied in the condition that the lecturer must be "reverent," as this would exclude a pessimist, who can hardly speak with reverence of a universe the existence of which he regards as a misfortune; and it might have been better to require only that the lecturers should be men of "exceptional ability and depth of conviction." "In every other respect," says the *Spectator*, "we cannot see why the trust should either give rise to unpleasant conflicts, or, in such an age as ours, have an unsettling effect on the minds of men." Indeed, the controversies as to the character of the power manifested in the universe are going on everywhere, and the Universities may choose the men best fitted to grapple with the subject. There is no serious obstacle in the way of a right choice.

"Lord Gifford's bequest," says the *Scotsman*, "has come at the right time. There has been growing up for years among thoughtful men a conviction in favour of the free teaching of theology or religion at our seats of learning, and public opinion is ripe for a first step in that direction. It has not been ripe long, and till it was ripe any premature attempt to set up free chairs of theology might have ended in failure and discredit, throwing back the needed reform for many years more. It cannot now be said that the movement will be premature. . . . The chair may be served in turn by many eminent thinkers and students; its occupant need not be a resident at the seat of his University; there will be no stale repetition of musty lectures session after session. . . . At each of our Universities there will be, if the institution is properly managed, a perpetual stream of the freshest and freest thought on the great subject of Natural Theology, at which all who have leisure and inclination may freely drink. . . . There can be no real danger. The choice will be in the hands of the Senatus Academicus, who may surely be trusted to choose, in the words of Lord Gifford, 'able and reverent men, true thinkers, sincere lovers of and earnest inquirers after truth.' . . . The probability is, however, that a body like the Senatus Academicus will not at first make very startling selections. . . . But we shall at least have men who are free to think, and free to teach what they believe to be true."

It is scarcely necessary that we should express our own opinion as to this bequest. It must be known to all our readers, and agreed in by all those who have been trained in a school of free theological teaching. To all who have faith in the power of truth, and in the truth of theism, it must be a source of congratulation that Theology has a prospect in the Scottish Universities of being raised to a true position on a level with the other sciences. Once placed on a level with them she may again vindicate her position among them as their queen. As for the supposed dangers, they can only exist on the supposition that the Senates of the Universities are unfit to appoint Lecturers on Natural Theology, or unable to find men fit to be appointed; for certainly no one is fit to lecture on any subject unless he may trusted to state his facts, and set forth his conclusions freely.

EDITOR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Larger Life : Studies in Hinton's Ethics. By CAROLINE HADDON. With some unpublished letters of James Hinton. London: Kegan Paul and Co. 1886.

MISS CAROLINE HADDON has done a serviceable work in giving these "Studies" to the public. She probably penetrated more deeply into the inner spirit of her brother-in-law's genius than any other person was privileged to do, and her exposition of his leading ideas given in the various essays which make up this volume, are of great interest, and will, we expect and hope, stimulate many to a careful study of Hinton's writings. We are unable to accept as a whole either Hinton's ethical theory or the metaphysical basis on which it reposes, but no thoughtful reader can fail to recognise in him a philosophical thinker of a very high order whose utterances are rich in precious germs of original thought. He may not take us with him to the final goal which he has in view, but we never mentally associate with his mind without receiving increased intellectual insight and a new impulse to moral endeavour. Hinton's favourite idea is, that nature as it presents itself to the ordinary mind is not nature as it really is ; it seems to us to be dead matter, but it actually is life, spirit, love. Its apparent deadness arises from the spiritual deadness in ourselves, and this spiritual deadness in us, he associates in some mystical way with the story of the "Fall" in Genesis, though it does not seem that he regarded this as an historical event. The same "Fall" which has deprived the unregenerate mind of the vision of the real spiritual activity in nature, has also created an apparent separation between our personal selves and the Divine Self which animates and unifies the entire organism of nature and humanity. Now this personal self with its private aims and ambition is, in so far as it obstructs the free play of divine love and universal sympathy, so much moral and spiritual deadness, and all true ethical progress means the gradual elimination of this principle of "self" as a spring of action, and the substitution of the desire to be of service to society as the governing passion of every soul.

In a most striking and valuable essay, entitled "A Law of Development," Miss Haddon expounds Hinton's principle of social evolution, and throughout this essay the reader will discern a close resemblance between Hinton's law of historical progress and that presented in Hegel's writings. It is clear, however, that Hinton's theorising is purely indigenous, and not of German extraction. In the teachings of Hinton as in those of Hegel, the great difficulty we encounter is, How is it possible

on his principles to give a rational explanation and justification of the Christian idea of sin and moral responsibility? Sin seems to become a wholly unmeaning word, unless we assume that the personal self, which reproaches itself for a sinful choice, could, under the circumstances, have chosen differently. But in Hinton's view this personal self, which must be the agent in choosing, is mere deadness and negation—an illusion, not an actuality; therefore, to say that it takes the initiative, and by a free act of choice determines the soul's upward or downward path, would wholly contradict Hinton's view of the unreal character of the "self," and therefore Hinton, like Hegel, is driven perforce into a theory of individual and social development which is wholly deterministic, and, so far as we can see, leaves not the slightest rational ground for ascribing either merit or demerit to any member of the human family. In this respect Hinton's theory closely resembles Augustinianism or Calvinism; that is to say, it implies that Adam, before the "Fall," was free to choose between right and wrong, but, since the "Fall," the personal self is no longer of itself able to freely choose between accepting and rejecting the invitations of Divine grace. In the chapter on "What can we Know?" Miss Haddon writes:—

"One thing appears to be done in human experience. Something quite different is being truly effected. We do wrong; yes, but wrong is not done. The wrong goes as deep as our own consciousness—deep enough for responsibility, repentance, punishment, forgiveness, and the experiences that come out of sin, but not deep enough to stain indelibly the fair work of God."

But how can man be said to do "wrong," and how can self-reproach be justified, if every phase in a man's past life could not possibly have been other than it actually has been, and if every so-called stain in it is an unavoidable and necessary factor in that divine process of development which we call nature and history? And yet it seems to us indisputable that this is the conclusion in which Hinton's doctrine of the negative character of the personal self inevitably lands him. In spite of all Miss Haddon's protestation that in Hinton's philosophy the doctrines of human freedom and of divine necessity find their reconciliation, it seems to us that the system of thought presented in this volume is, notwithstanding the exceeding beauty and truth of very many passages, pervaded by a pantheistic principle which in its logical issues is fatally at variance with the moral consciousness of sin and responsibility, and therefore cannot possibly be brought into complete accord with Christian ethics and Christian faith.

C. B. UPTON.

OBITUARY.

WILLIAM SHAEN, born October 31, 1820; died March 2, 1887.

MR. SHAEN was the youngest son of Samuel Shaen, Esq., of Crix, Hatfield-Peverel, Essex, who was known as a sturdy Liberal and Nonconformist in a Tory county, and was one of the first Nonconformist magistrates appointed after the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. On the mother's side Mr. Shaen was descended from Daniel Neal, author of the "History of the Puritans," and his wife Elizabeth, sister of Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, through their son Nathaniel Neal, who was an active member of the Board of Dr. Daniel Williams's Trustees from 1751-1766. Through her he also traced his descent from John Hollis, who was likewise a Williams Trustee, and brother to Thomas Hollis, also a member of the same Trust, but better known as the munificent benefactor of Harvard College, where, besides making valuable gifts to the library, he established ten scholarships and two professorships, one of these a Chair of Divinity. Of Mr. Samuel Shaen it is said, in the short obituary notice which appeared in the *Christian Reformer* on his death in 1854, that he "became a Unitarian in early life." The son of these parents inherited the sturdy and lofty Puritanism, the traditions of religious liberty, and at the same time the rational theology which characterised him throughout his life. William Shaen was a pupil of the Rev. John Philip Malleson, one of the little group of Wymondley College students who left the Independents for the Unitarians early in the present century. From Mr. Malleson's School at Hove House, Brighton, he proceeded to University College School, and thence to University College, London, and took his bachelor's degree with honours in classics in 1840. He then studied at Edinburgh, where he was a favourite pupil of Sir William Hamilton, and in 1842 he took his M.A. degree in London in philosophy, taking the gold medal. He was elected a fellow of University College in 1846. From 1848 to 1858 he was secretary to the Committee of Graduates of the University of London, which was formed for the purpose of obtaining a permanent building for the University, securing the right to return a member of Parliament, and giving the graduates a voice in the government of the University. When Convocation of the University was constituted in 1858 he was appointed clerk, and held that office till 1868. In 1880 he was elected a member of the Senate. Through the intervening period, 1868-1880, he was still active as a member of the Annual Committee of Convocation, and took an influential part in the movement for the admission of women to degrees, which resulted in the attainment of the supplemental charter of

1878, admitting women to all degrees, followed in 1882 by the resolution of Convocation to admit female graduates to Convocation.

Intended at first for the Bar, Mr. Shaen afterwards relinquished this intention, and was articled in 1842 to Mr. Ashurst, solicitor, and was enrolled as a solicitor in 1848. His legal knowledge and skill, and a rare combination of prophetic insight into the things that *can* be because they *ought* to be, with calm, sober judgment, gave him an almost unique position as the legal adviser of those engaged in educational and philanthropic movements. He was a member of the committee which established Bedford College for Ladies in 1848, and retained his connection with the College till his death, being for the last few years chairman of the Council. He was solicitor to Girton and Newnham Colleges, was elected an honorary life member of Somerville Hall soon after its incorporation, and was solicitor to the Girls' Public Day-School Company from its formation. He was one of the early advocates of the admission of women to the study of medicine, and assisted in the foundation of the London School of Medicine for Women.

Mr. Shaen was a teetotaller in days when total abstinence was much more unpopular than it is now, and took part in the formation of one of the most thriving of the Teetotal Building Societies to which he acted as solicitor until his death. He was also solicitor to the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, and to the Associate Institute for the Protection of Women and Children, and also to a similar society founded by Lord Townsend. He was chairman of the National Association for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts and in 1873 assisted in the formation of the Social Purity Alliance, the first of the societies which have been founded for the promotion of a higher standard of social purity, the victory of personal virtue over vice in place of the State regulation of vice. He was also a member of the Victoria-street Anti-Vivisection Society from its establishment, and though at first in favour of restriction, and not of entire prohibition of vivisection, he latterly inclined more to absolute prohibition as the only escape from the impossbility of satisfactorily defining the restrictions.

Miss Octavia Hill's work in London early secured Mr. Shaen's interest, and he was landlord of one of the courts, in Marylebone, which was worked upon her principle of striving to improve the conditions of the life of the poor by a wise and faithful exercise of the duties of landlords to tenants, and the cultivation of healthy and friendly relations between them.

The three most important cases, probably, in which Mr. Shaen was professionally engaged—certainly the three on which he was fond of dwelling as his leading cases—were the defence of Bishop Colenso, the defence of Mr. Voysey, and the prosecution of Governor Eyre.

In theology, as we have intimated, Mr. Shaen was a Unitarian. As a member of the Committee of the Unitarian Association, he supported every movement for a liberal interpretation of the constitution and rules of the Association; and amid all the calls that were made upon his

time and energies, he was an active trustee of Manchester New College from the year 1854, and of Dr. Williams's Trust from 1872, these two institutions especially commending themselves to him as being free from theological restrictions. Brought up in what is known as the "older school" of Unitarianism, Mr. Shaen passed on, partly under the influence of Theodore Parker and the earlier writings of Francis W. Newman, but still more directly under the influence of John James Tayler and Dr. Martineau, into the less rigidly dogmatic and more deeply spiritual Unitarianism which has succeeded it; and though he rejected the "Christian Mythology," he retained a deep Christian faith which, though seldom spoken of in public, was his support in his public work as well as in his private life. In a letter, written only a few days before his death, he speaks of "the abiding treasure of long memories of common joys and common griefs—I scarcely know which are the more precious—and the still brighter treasure of a common faith in a reunion hereafter, freed from the terrible and mysterious suffering that, while we are here, presses so heavily upon us all;" and in the directions which he left in regard to his funeral, after expressing his desire to have all arrangements of the simplest kind, he says: "I wish for a simple Theistic religious service such as is now commonly held at our Unitarian funerals, which will express the Christian hopes I cherish."

In 1851, Mr. Shaen married Miss Emily Winkworth, sister of Susanna and Catherine Winkworth, whose valuable translations from the German, chiefly theological and religious, and original contributions to the study of German hymnology, will be well known to many of our readers. Mrs. Shaen, two sons and two daughters, survive him. Mr. Shaen's death, like that of his father, was sudden, and it was due to the same cause, failure of the action of the heart. He died at his residence, 15, Upper Phillimore-gardens, Kensington, on Wednesday, March 2, and was interred the following Monday in Kensal-green Cemetery.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

MARCH.

1.—London Diocesan Conference. The Bishop, in his opening address, expressed his satisfaction that the laity were showing their eagerness to take a more active part in the work of the Church.

"The whole Church seemed to be penetrated by a spirit of life, and not the clergy only, but the laity were claiming their share in her activities. There had

been times when the laity cared very little about what the clergy did, and when the clergy were, perhaps, glad to be left alone; when they were willing that the laity should be indifferent because they were not themselves anxious to enter upon a more active career than had been customary, and when they would rather not have the people require more of them. But he was sure no one rejoiced more than the clergy of the present day at finding the laity desirous to take their share in the work."

The following resolutions were carried :—

"That under present circumstances, the extension and organisation of distinctively lay ministrations are a pressing need of the Church; that such ministrations would gain in influence by the enrolment of laymen in graded offices; and that to the holders of some of these offices should be granted by the Bishops, under such regulations as may seem expedient, power to take part in the conduct of extra services within the Church."

"That this conference, being earnestly desirous to promote the interests of morality, and believing that the public morals suffer from the needlessly detailed reports of divorce and similar cases in the newspapers, expresses its hope that public measures may be taken for the suppression of the publication of obscene and demoralising details, and respectfully urges the editors and proprietors of the chief journals to further any measures which may prevent the evil."

"That, in view of the importance of bringing wholesome influences to bear on the young men of London engaged in business or labour, this conference desires to thank the Bishop for his letter of January 3, 1887, commending the scheme of the Young Men's Friendly Society to the consideration of the parish clergy; and specially refers the interest of this and similar societies to the Diocesan Council for Promoting the Welfare of Young Men."

"That, in view of the continually increasing importance of Sunday-schools as a means of religious education and training, it is desirable that steps should be taken to improve the position and training of Sunday-school teachers."

"That Church work among the lower middle-class of the vast population of this diocese requires and deserves special attention from the Church at large."

"That while the truest means of Church defence are to be found in the faithful teaching and diligent ministrations of the clergy, it is essential, in view of the organised attack upon the Church's constitutional position, that every Churchman should acquire for himself, and diffuse among others, sound and accurate information concerning the past and present *status* of the Church of England."

The Church Patronage Bill has passed through Committee of the House of Lords; but it can scarcely be called the Archbishop's Bill after the process. The Council of Presentations, which was an important feature of the Bill, has been struck out altogether, and for this Elective Council has been substituted a Commission consisting of an Archdeacon, the Chancellor of the Diocese, a Rural Dean, and two laymen appointed by the Lord High Chancellor on the application of the Bishop; and the same Commission is to decide whether any proposed purchaser is a properly qualified person or not, three members of the Commission being sufficient to decide in his favour.

For the six specified grounds on which a Bishop might refuse to institute a presentee, was substituted,

"The Bishop may refuse to institute any presentee who appears to the Bishop to be unfitted for the discharge of his pastoral duty by reason of physical infirmities or of pecuniary embarrassment, or his evil life, or such grave scandals or evil report concerning his moral conduct, that he ought not to be instituted to the benefice in question."

An amendment was carried allowing Roman Catholic patrons to present to benefices.

An amendment to allow appeal from the Bishop's decision to three Bishops, one nominated by the presentee, the other by the Bishop refusing to institute, and the third by these two, was rejected; and the appeal to the Archbishop was retained.

Some of the London clergy, after holding several conferences together, have drawn up the following appeal, and sent a copy of it to every London incumbent :—

"DEAR BROTHER,—The rich, as a class, offer an example of living which is contrary to the Christian profession, though the actions of some of their number are a striking protest against that example. They waste their lives and their wealth. They give nothing to the poor but alms; they neither deny themselves, nor follow Christ. They do not first seek the Kingdom of God, but quote the laws of political economy, or the decisions of the doctor, or the demands of society to show why they cannot obey God. Nevertheless the rich, as a class, go to church, and are supposed to be typical Christians. As long as this is so, how can we expect that the poor will be moved by their example to seek in Christianity help or solace?

"The following are offenders against the law of Christ :—

"1. Possessors of knowledge, beautiful objects, or luxuries, who do not share them with the poor. Owners of houses and parks, givers of dinners, who invite to the enjoyment of their best those only who can ask again.

"2. Women who carelessly wear fine clothes, without having inquired into the possible cost in a sister's shame or death. Bargain-mongers who forget that some 'cheap' things are too dear for 'human' use.

"3. Employers who take their profit and do not concern themselves to know how the employed live. Men who think that 5 per cent. is a law of God, and that the body He created to be the temple of His Spirit can be fed, clothed, and recreated on a few shillings a week.

"4. All who, having earned or inherited a livelihood, plead that they have no time to make friends among the poor or to perform public duties.

"The contrast between the condition of those who are equally God's children becomes unbearable in the light of modern publicity. Many are driven to think that only by the use of force will the poor obtain from the rich the means to develop their capacities for knowing, feeling, and doing.

"We believe, on the contrary, that by the use of force the poor would grow in greed and selfishness; gaining with the wealth many of the vices which have gone with riches. And our hope is, therefore, that the rich, moved to follow Christ themselves, may offer such sacrifices and make such personal efforts for the sake of their brethren that rich and poor together may be able to live their life as God's children.

"Dear brother, the thought of these things weighs us down and stings our own consciences, and we feel forced to speak out. You and we are fellow-workers for the same end; we hold the same theory of life, and we are all labouring that Christ may be in man and man in Christ. We ask you, with much humility, Will you bring this matter, in all its terrible reality, before those to whom you have to preach? Will you, for the sake of Christ and His poor, warn such as attend your church, and commit any of the offences which we have named, that they cannot call themselves in any full sense followers of the Master?

"We do not sign our names, lest they should suggest personal considerations, which should be far removed from such a subject, and take away from the force of the naked truth which we have ventured to set before you.—X. Y. Z."

The Christian Reformer.

MAY, 1887.

PROPHETS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

THE missionary Apostle who passed from city to city, land to land, gathering his little knots of hearers, and organising them into churches, could not be the permanent teacher of the congregations which he established. When he departed, what provision was there for the edification of the faithful whom he left behind? The answer to this question brings into view another class of preachers, to whom Paul assigns the second place in the spiritual order—viz., the prophets.

I.

We are accustomed to think of prophecy as an Old Testament phenomenon. The ordinary Bible reader who finds the community of believers described as 'built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets' (Ephes. ii. 20), immediately calls to mind the arguments derived from the supposed predictions of Jesus from Isaiah to Malachi; forgetful of the congratulation which the apostolic writer is about to offer to his readers that they can perceive his 'understanding in the mystery of Christ, which in other generations was not made known unto the sons of men, as it hath *now* been revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in spirit' (Eph. iii. 4, 5). But it is quite clear from the books of the New Testament that the peculiar forms of mental activity

known as prophecy were widely manifested, and were, in fact, almost demanded as evidence of the possession of the 'Spirit.' What types of spiritual force, then, does New Testament prophecy exhibit? Rightly to understand them, some word must be said of their older predecessors.

In its earliest and rudest shapes, the prophecy of Israel seems to have sprung up in connection with the wild bursts of religious ecstasy, common in many Oriental religions. There is the figure of Saul, as he meets a wandering band of minstrels with instrument and song, and yields to their enthusiasm, and 'prophesies' among them (1 Sam. x. 6, 10, 11); or in access of frenzy, strips off his royal robes, and lies naked before Samuel all night (1 Sam. xix. 24). The ancient modes of thought at once attributed such states of excitement to some overmastering external agency; and experienced no moral shock in ascribing them to the 'spirit of God.' And hence in all stages of its religious development, abnormal cases of mental energy were treated as the direct signs of divine interposition. All the world over dreams have been constantly regarded as instruments of revelation, and the authors of the Old Testament had their full share of this belief. To the prophets, it was supposed, the mysteries of the unknown future were disclosed, as the Lord of the world took them into his purposes by the fellowship of his spirit. And in those 'coming days' which they loved so well to depict, the gifts of the spirit should be bestowed with unusual plenitude. To the hero king, who should right all wrongs, and reign in universal peace, they should bring the powers of perfect sovereignty, wisdom and understanding, counsel and might, knowledge, and the fear of Yahveh. Nay, the entire community, slaves as well as freemen, should feel its transforming influence;

'And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see

visions: and also upon the bondmen and the bondwomen in those days will I pour out my spirit' (Joel ii. 28, 29).

The promise remained in suspense; the ideal king came not; suffering and sorrow seemed to postpone indefinitely the fulfilment of the great hope. Yet, in a sense, the possession of the true religion seemed a witness that the spirit had, after all, been given; and the Psalmist, looking from the vantage ground of attained faith over the national transgressions, cries in the name of his people, 'Take not thy holy spirit from me.' So, though the canon of the prophets was in due time closed, the spirit alighted here and there on faithful souls with illuminating power; and the capacity to foresee the future showed that God had not ceased to make known his will to men. The book of Daniel was not, indeed, included among the collection of Israel's prophetic writings; but there was no doubt about its character in the believer's mind, and 'Daniel the prophet' figures in the great eschatological discourse, Matt. xxiv. 15. The series of apocalyptic works which followed it were all marked by the same prophetic style, and it was understood that holy men, by fasting and prayer, might win an insight into hidden ways which lifted them into prophetic rank. The Essenes, in particular, at the time of Jesus, were credited with this power. Their austere lives, their seclusion, their purity, opened to them secrets which remained closed to common eyes, and the historian Josephus affirms that they seldom erred in their predictions.*

II.

The work of Jesus, which (in the eyes of his countrymen) was in one of its aspects didactic, was in another prophetic. He begins as the 'teacher,' but he rises into the 'prophet.'

* *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 12. For the story of Archelaus's dream before he was summoned to Rome, and its interpretation by Simon the Essene, see *Ant.* xvii. 13, 3.

When he enters Jerusalem in triumph, the crowds which accompany him meet the wondering questions of the citizens with cries of 'This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth in Galilee.' Even the disciple can find for him no higher name; the travellers to Emmaus discourse to the stranger who joins them on the way 'concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in word and deed.' So the stories which gather in after time about his birth and that of his precursor John are filled with the ideas which had never wholly died away, and had been revived by the ministry of Jesus with fresh force. Zacharias, when at last his tongue is loosed, is 'filled with holy spirit,'* and prophesies. Simeon, under the same influence, waits for the consolation of Israel. The aged widow Anna, constant in fasting and prayer, is actually designated a prophetess. And the discourses of Jesus reflect the same conception. 'He that receiveth a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward.' There might, then, be prophets of the kingdom, as well as apostles, who would take up the same missionary toil. And the warnings against 'false prophets' (Matt. vii. 15, xxiv. 24) are sufficiently significant of the presence of some who were at least believed to be true.

Accordingly the picture of the early church drawn for us in the Book of Acts displays the prophetic spirit in full vigour. It opens with a formal promise by the risen Jesus that the apostles should be 'baptized with holy spirit* not many days after.' The promise is fulfilled at Pentecost, when Peter is represented as explaining the marvellous utterance of the assembled brethren by appeal to the prediction of Joel already cited. The gift of the spirit, however, is not confined to the Twelve. It chooses its instruments where it will. Barnabas, whose very name 'son of prophecy' implies his eminence in this character, is 'full of

* Not, as in the Revised Version, with "*the* Holy Ghost."

holy spirit.' Prophets go down from Jerusalem to Antioch, and one of them, Agabus, successfully predicts a famine (xi. 27, 28). At Antioch, indeed, is a little group of 'prophets and teachers,' whose spiritual energy is heightened by the usual methods of prayer and fasting (xiii. 1, 2), and under the mysterious prompting of the holy spirit they solemnly dedicate Barnabas and Saul to the missionary apostolate.* That one, at least, of the functions of the prophets was to foretell future events, after the manner of the higher type of Old Testament prophecy, is plain from the incident of Agabus. Paul has arrived at Caesarea on his last journey to the mother church. He has been warned 'through the spirit,' but in vain, not to attempt to set foot in Jerusalem. But he is not to be dissuaded. With a last effort, Agabus takes the apostle's girdle, and with symbolic action, like an Ahijah or a Jeremiah, binds his feet and hands, and in the name—not of Yahveh as of old, but of the holy spirit, utters the doom 'so shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owns this girdle.'

There is, however, another side to the prophesying described in the Book of Acts. The gift of the spirit seems sometimes only to produce strange forms of incoherent utterance, analogous rather to the ravings of a Saul than to the high discourse of an Isaiah. When Peter unfolded the 'good tidings of peace' to Cornelius and his friends, the holy spirit fell on all them which heard the word. By what signs was its presence manifested? The new believers were said to 'speak with tongues' (x. 44—46), and this recognised evidence of the influence of the spirit is made the justification of the baptism of Gentiles, and their admission into the Church. The same phenomenon displays itself in turn in the apostolate of Paul. He has but to lay his hands on twelve men, disciples of John's baptism at Ephesus, and the holy spirit comes on them, they speak with tongues and

* See above, p. 211.

prophesy (xix. 6). Nor is the gift confined to men; spontaneous and unofficial it makes women its organs too; and as the widow Anna was known as a prophetess at Jerusalem, so the four virgin daughters of the evangelist Philip at Caesarea all prophesy (xxi. 8, 9).

The relatively late date of the Book of Acts, and its obvious aim to conciliate the two great parties of the Church, by its portraiture of the two leading apostles, Peter and Paul, prevent us from accepting its details as historical. But the methods of spiritual activity which it describes were certainly of a kind not unknown to the writer, and they are abundantly illustrated in other parts of the New Testament. The first preachers of Christianity uttered their good news with assurance, they delivered their message with enthusiasm. The believer yielded no cold or formal assent. He felt the contact of nobler natures; he was conscious of powers within him which he had not known before; it seemed to him the stir and quickening of a divine life. Great thoughts struggled in his breast, and sought for utterance. His very joy and gladness produced a kind of travail of soul. Caught up out of the routine of his common round into a world of righteousness and peace, he appeared to himself to look into the mysteries of heaven's intent, he was admitted to share the knowledge of angels, nay, the foreknowledge of God. The awful significance of sin, of judgment, of redemption, was unlocked for him, and he took his place in the mystic body of Christ, and learned to know himself as son and fellow-worker with the Eternal and All Holy. Once ushered into this august presence, he longed to speak what he beheld; and if words proved all too weak to declare the glory, confused and inarticulate cries broke forth, laden with a message too great for him to tell.

It was especially in the meeting for worship that these phenomena displayed themselves; and the letters of Pau throw ample light on the modes of spiritual excitement which

marked the early church.* As the little band met Sunday after Sunday, and partook of the common meal at which they commemorated the death of their Lord, there was no fixed order in their proceedings. All was open to the free impulse which was piously regarded as the work of the spirit. One chanted a psalm, another sang a hymn; thanksgivings, prayers, teachings, revelations, words of wisdom and knowledge, tongues, interpretations, prophesyings for edification and comfort, followed each other in irregular haste, or even went on confusedly at the same time. In the absence of any official superintendence, each took part as he felt moved. Even women might pray and prophesy, provided only that they did not remove their veils.† Most noteworthy of all are the gifts of tongues and prophecy. There was doubtless a close connection between the two. Nevertheless, in their portrayal by the apostle Paul, he ranks the second far above the first. It was the drawback of speech in a tongue that no one understood it. The speaker edified himself alone; he spoke only into the air. 'How should the brother beside him, who had not his gift, know when to say Amen, if he could not comprehend the thanksgiving, or, indeed, tell when it closed? And if all the faithful spoke with tongues at once, the curious unbeliever entering in would pronounce them only a congregation of lunatics. Paul, indeed, congratulates himself that he can speak with tongues more copiously than anybody; but in the church, he adds, he had rather speak five words with his understanding than ten thousand words in a tongue. Unless, then, there were anyone present who could interpret the utterance, the speaker in a tongue should be

* See especially 1 Cor. xiv.

† In 1 Cor. xi. 5, 13, it is plain that the offence in the apostle's mind does not lie in the idea that prayer is offered by a woman, but in her doing so unveiled. The injunction that women should keep silence in the churches (1 Cor. xiv. 34-36) is in such glaring contradiction with the foregoing, that I cannot help suspecting it (with Mossman, *Early Christian Church*, p. 348) to be a later addition. The plural *churches*, indeed, shows that it is intended as a general law. Paul, himself, writing to one congregation, says 'in the church' (ver. 28).

silent at the worship meeting, and discourse only to himself and God.

Of higher value far was the prophetic gift. This also displayed itself in no set form. In the eagerness of religious enthusiasm first one and then another believed himself to receive a 'revelation'; ere one had finished another broke forth. Living in constant anticipation of their Lord's return, with hope strained to the very uttermost, prophetic expectancy watched each event and gazed into heaven for signs. The certitude of the impending judgment often gave to these vaticinations an intensity of moral force which our colder and critical moods can hardly realise. The ordinary Gentile who found his way into an assembly thus engaged, felt himself at once convicted. He seemed to be in the presence of men who knew him through and through. His daily life was open before them. There was no concealment for his sins; the secrets of his heart were made manifest; and in a passion of contrition and faith he would fall down on his face in their midst, declaring that God was among them indeed. Or sometimes, the prophetic word was not of rebuke, but of consolation, as in that touching passage where the apostle seeks to comfort the believers at Thessalonica concerning them that are fallen asleep. He speaks, indeed, not 'in the spirit,' but with a more august sanction, 'by the word of the Lord' (1 Thess. iv. 15-18). The fear that at the *parousia* the living would miss their departed friends was groundless. The Lord himself would descend from heaven, with shout of angel and with trump of God; the dead in Christ should rise first, and with the living survivors be caught up in the clouds to meet him; so they would all be ever with the Lord. Many a time, doubtless, had these and similar hopes been the theme of 'revelation.' Sometimes they seemed unsubstantial and delusive; they were received with suspicion and incredulity. Paul found it needful to exhort his Thessalonican readers not to quench the spirit, nor to despise prophesyings. But faith

was still too strong to feel anxiety at the delay, and prophecy accordingly maintained its ground.

This strong expectancy, this conviction that there were mysteries of divine purpose which could be unveiled to seeing eyes, was not, as we have seen, peculiar to the Christian Church. It had generated the apocalyptic literature which began with Daniel: it broke out again and again in popular forms during the last days of Jerusalem: and it turns up still among the Jews after the fall of their holy city, assuming literary shape in such books as 4 Ezra, and the Apocalypse of Baruch. It was natural that it should in like manner seek among the Christians a larger circle than the members of a local congregation. The oft-repeated theme of early preaching, that which sent forth the missionary in eager haste from land to land, was the approaching return of Messiah to judge the world. *Maranatha*, 'our Lord is coming,' is the last word of Paul to his Corinthian disciples, when he first addresses them by letter (1 Cor. xvi. 22). So as the armies closed round Jerusalem, some Christian prophet, it would seem, caught up some of the Master's words of the last things, and circulated a sort of tract, fly-leaf, broad-sheet, of warning and of counsel, with immediate urgency, which has been embodied in Matt. xxiv. as a veritable discourse of Jesus. But the supreme example of Christian prophecy (whether or no it have a Jewish basis) is the book which closes our New Testament. The Apocalypse is expressly designated 'the prophecy' (i. 3, xxii. 18, 19). The members of the church are described as saints, apostles, prophets (xviii. 20-24); and Rome is judged for the persecution of Nero, for in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints. Among these prophets, not among the apostles, the author places himself: 'I am a fellow-servant with thee,' says the angel to him, 'and with thy brethren the prophets' (xxii. 9). Is this the last word which early Christian prophecy has for us?

III.

The activity of the first century lasts on into the second. Beside the Apocalypse of John many of the churches placed an Apocalypse of Peter, and read it in their services. The older works known as the Sibylline Oracles, and possibly the book of Enoch, received additions at Christian hands. The Visions and Similitudes of the 'Shepherd,' written under the name of Hermas, about 140, were at once accepted as a prophetic work, a rank which the author obviously claims for his production. Irenæus quoted the book as Scripture; it is frequently cited as inspired; and where the limits of the canon were not rigidly drawn, it was appended (as in the Codex Sinaiticus) to the New Testament. A large number of other works came also into circulation among the numerous sects which the freedom of Gnostic speculation generated. There are traces of an Ascension of Paul, and an Apocalypse of Elijah: Hermas himself cites a book of Eldad and Modad (*Vis.* ii. 3): and the names of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Ezekiel, Daniel, Habbakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah father of the Baptist, were attached to others. The champions of Christianity, alike against Gentile oppression and heretical liberty, might still exercise the prophetic gift. It is ascribed to Quadratus, who presented a defence of the faith to Hadrian when he visited Athens; and to the good Bishop Melito of Sardis, who pleaded the same cause to Marcus Aurelius. Polycarp, too, of Smyrna, is designated in the church letter which relates his martyrdom as an 'apostolic and prophetic teacher; for every word,' add the anonymous writers, 'that went forth from his mouth either has been or shall yet be accomplished.' And Justin Martyr, writing perhaps between 150 and 160 A.D., confidently asserts against his Jewish antagonist, 'the prophetical gifts remain with us even to the present time.'

These gifts by no means always sought a literary expression. The humble preachers of the congregation had their representatives and successors in the second century, as well as the seers who seemed to write in letters of flame. Just as the apostolate widened its range, and lasted on in the form of a body of itinerant teachers, so the order of prophets still continued to speak with authority, to exhort and to console. Side by side do the two classes stand in the 'Teaching of the Twelve,' as in the letters of Paul. But their relative worth is apparently inverted. In the early days when the communities were young, and stood in close dependence on their founders, the apostle whose authority could still be exerted in his absence was the more commanding power. The travelling missionaries who continued the function and bore the title, though the gift and the 'signs' were often wanting, fell gradually into less and less repute. On the other hand, the prophet who led the worship, who quickened the conscience and sustained the faith of the believers, week by week and year by year, acquired the preponderating influence. He, too, might carry his word from place to place; but the prophets whom the compilers of the 'Teaching' delight to honour, are not peripatetic but stationary. They are in fact the settled ministers of congregations, whose prayers and teachings are still uttered 'in spirit,' rather than 'in understanding.' They are the product, that is, not of reflective self-consciousness, but of the free play of emotion, heightened by the sense of close relationship to God and Christ. They rise unasked, for the spirit finds out its own instruments. The prophets, therefore, are no official class. They have been chosen by no show of hands at a church meeting. They have been designated by no apostle. They still represent the liberty of primitive Christian impulse; they hand on what yet remains of the freshness of its first enthusiasm. They stand for the spontaneity, the individuality, of early faith, in oppo-

sition to the tendencies to uniformity and discipline which the expansion and organisation of the church call into play. Round them, rather than round the administrative officers, the bishops and deacons of each community, does the church life revolve. They stand to their flock as chief priests, at the head, that is to say, of sacred things. And for their needs a generous provision must be made.

'But every true prophet who wishes to settle among you, is worthy of his food. Likewise a true teacher is himself also worthy, like the labourer, of his food. All the first fruits, then, of the produce of the wine press and the threshing floor, and of oxen and sheep, shalt thou take and give to the prophets, for they are your chief priests. But if ye have no prophet, give it to the poor. If thou preparest a batch of bread, take the first fruits, and give according to the commandment. Likewise when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first fruits and give to the prophets. Of silver, too, and raiment, and every possession, take the first fruits as seemeth good to thee, and give according to the commandment' (*Teaching*, xiii.).

The abundant charity of the Christians brought men of all sorts into their ranks, and the prophetic enthusiasm was too often simulated. What tests, then, can our authors suggest for the discrimination of the false prophet from the true? The criterion is simple, and indicates how large a stress of Christian teaching, apart from revelations of the future, fell upon conduct and character.

'Not every one that speaketh in spirit is a prophet, save only if he have the ways of the Lord. By their ways, then, shall the false prophet be known and the real prophet. . . . Every prophet who teaches the truth, if he do not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. . . . But whosoever says in spirit "Give me money, or any other things," ye shall not hearken unto him. But if he bid you give concerning others that are in need, let no one judge him' (*Teaching*, xi. 7).

The capacity to rise into the ecstatic state known as 'being in spirit,' was not confined, therefore, to the true prophet alone. Just as in the Gospels the power to exorcise demons

is admitted by Jesus to belong to the sons of the Pharisees as much as it is claimed for him by his disciples, so the ability to prophesy is not in itself a guarantee of truth. Indeed, it is plain enough that not all believers were exempt from the superstition and curiosity about the future which were by no means confined either to women, or to the ill-educated and untrained of every rank. Syria, Greece, Egypt, Italy, each had its own forms of divination; its famous oracles; its prophets, bards, or seers; its recognised or secret modes of forecasting fate. At no time was the appetite for portents and prodigies more eager: and the later lists of persons who might not be admitted into the Christian church unless they abandoned their profession, included magicians, enchanters, astrologers, diviners, jugglers, mountebanks, makers of amulets, charmers, soothsayers, fortune-tellers, the practisers of palmistry, and those who drew omens from noises, or from defects in the eyes or feet of birds or cats! Many a one who had taken the Christian name, longed in moments of uncertainty for the aid which the heathen vaticinations had afforded. They had recourse to the prophets. These, in their lowest order, were no better than the agents of the idol-deities. The higher prophets repudiated their pretensions altogether; whatever true words they might occasionally utter, were only the device of the devil to win some of the righteous with greater ease. The author of the 'Shepherd' thus depicts them:—

> He [the Shepherd] pointed out to me [Hermas] some men sitting on a seat, and another man sitting on a chair. And he said to me, 'Seest thou the men sitting on the seat?' 'I do, sir,' said I. 'These,' said he, 'are the faithful, and he who sits on the chair is a false prophet, ruining the minds of the servants of God. It is the double-minded not the faithful that he ruins. These, then, come to him as a soothsayer, and inquire of him what will happen to them, and he, having no power of a divine spirit in him, speaks to them according to their inquiries and their wicked desires, and stuffs their souls just as they desire' (*Comm.* xi.).

The same dilemma, therefore, presents itself to Hermas: how shall he know which prophet is false, and which prophet true?

'Hearken,' answers his Shepherd guide, 'and as I tell thee, so shalt thou try the prophet and the false prophet. Try by his life the man who has the divine spirit. He who has the divine spirit which is from above, is meek and peaceable and lowly minded, and abstains from all wickedness and vain desire of this world, and makes himself inferior to all men, and, even though inquired of, gives answer to none. Nor does he speak privately, nor does the holy spirit speak when man wills it to, but only when God wills that it shall speak. When, then, a man having the divine spirit comes into a congregation of righteous men who have faith in the divine spirit, and their prayer rises to God, then the angel of the prophetic spirit who is assigned to him fills the man, and the man being filled with the holy spirit speaks to the multitude as the Lord wills' (*ibid.*).

IV.

Even as late, then, as the year 140, if the widely-accepted date of the 'Shepherd' be correct, the function of preaching in the congregation might still be practised by the prophet. It is plain that with the decline of the first flush of excitement, as Christianity has assumed a more permanent place in the world, the less restrained phenomena of ecstasy have subsided. The weekly worship has acquired a steadier order; the prophets no longer violate decorum. Yet, still, the more ardent spirits have not wholly abandoned the passionate raving which had often accompanied speech with tongues. We see them, as the philosopher Celsus scornfully describes them, standing outside the temples, or even venturing in, and there in the very precincts of deity assuming the motions and gestures of inspired persons. They enter the markets, they stand in the streets, they move among the troops to attract attention and excite surprise. Strange, fanatical, unintelligible words fall from them, of which no rational person can find the meaning; so obscure are they as

to have no sense at all, but they give occasion to every fool or impostor to suit his own purposes. Such were the uncouth forms of protest which rose unbidden in minds possessed with an uncontrollable loathing of idolatry. Here is the counterpart to the picture, drawn for us by Lucian of Samosata in Syria, who ridicules the credulity and generosity which sometimes made the Christians the dupes of cheats and rogues. He relates the fortunes of one Peregrinus, who, after committing various crimes—among others, having strangled his father—comes and joins the Christians. He gained among them the repute of a prophet; he wrote, he interpreted, he taught; until at last he was arrested as a Witness of the faith. His position as a Confessor raised his glory to its greatest height.

'When he was thrown into prison, the Christians moved heaven and earth to set him free. But since this proved impossible, they tended him with the greatest zeal. Early in the morning you might see a number of widows and orphan children standing beside the prison door. Those in authority amongst them used to bribe the gaoler, and sleep inside with him, and then they used to have fine suppers brought in, and their sacred books were read, and the most excellent Peregrinus was thought quite a new Socrates. And there were even cities in Asia from which there came certain persons sent by the Christians at the common charge, to help him, and be his advocate, and encourage him. And they display an incredible activity whenever any such public event takes place. For in brief they spare nothing. And so there came in reality to Peregrinus large sums of money from them on occasion of his bonds, and he made out of it no small income. For these miserable-spirited men had persuaded themselves that they would be immortal for all time hereafter, and would live for ever; for which reason they despise death and willingly give themselves up in large numbers to be slain. And besides their first lawgiver made them believe that they were all brethren one of another, as soon as they had denied the Greek gods and worshipped that crucified sophist of theirs, and lived according to his laws. They, therefore, despise all goods alike, and think them common, having accepted such ideas without any adequate ground of faith. If there comes to them any impostor, or cunning fellow who knows how to use his opportunities, straightway he can get rich, and laugh at these simple folk.' (*De Morte Peregrini*, 13.)

One may read through the lines of this satirical description an unintended testimony to many noble Christian virtues. There is the fearless personal devotion with which the faithful minister to their imprisoned prophet, the generous provision for his wants, and the witness of sympathy sent by distant churches. There is the deep sense of brotherhood, so that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. There is the fervent conviction of everlasting life, which looks with contempt on torture and even death in its eagerness to depart and be with Christ. These were the moral forces which were going to win the world, though Lucian could not see it. It was a small price to pay for them that an impostor or a quack should sometimes turn them to his own gain. The Christians were not the only persons who might be deluded. Lucian has sketched the career of another false prophet, whose audacious achievements might seem no better than an idle tale, were it not that they are guaranteed by the best of all evidence, inscriptions and coins from the scenes of his adventures.

A certain Alexander, of Abonoteichos, a little Paphlagonian town on the Black Sea, being at a loss for a living, adopted the part of a seer. His stately form, his claim to descent from Perseus, the snake which he juggled out of an egg, the mighty serpent with a human head—no other than his own disguised—which was the symbol of the divine presence, all gained for him the notoriety of a god. His special foes were the Epicureans and the Christians, alike involved in the common charge of atheism. He burned the books of the Epicureans; he ordered the leaders of both sects to be stoned. His fame spread far beyond the limits of his native Paphlagonia. The general Severian consulted him about his expedition against the Parthians and Armenians; but the ill-success of his attack did not diminish the repute of Alexander's predictions. He boldly presented himself among the most cultivated people of the day. At Athens he instituted

mysteries, at the beginning of which he cried aloud, 'Turn the Christians out,' and the crowd added, 'Turn out the Epicureans.' In Rome he became fashionable at once. His lodgings were besieged with visitors. Conspicuous among them was a certain elderly Rutilian, a man of consular rank, whom he befooled into marrying a daughter born to him by the moon. When the great plague of 166 A.D. desolated Italy, a magic formula from his oracle hung up over the door was widely used as a preservative. Even the grave Aurelius came under his spell. Philosophy was no proof against the utterances of his snake. As the emperor was gathering his forces at Carnuntum for the Pannonian war, he presided in his official robes as Pontifex Maximus at a solemn sacrifice dictated by Alexander. Two live lions, amid a shower of fragrant Indian herbs, were thrown into the Danube. They swam valiantly to the other side, where the barbarians beat them to death with clubs, like wild dogs or wolves. But the victims were offered in vain. Straightway a terrible disaster fell on the Roman arms.

Compared to prophecy such as this which could lead captive alike the highest rank and the wisest thought of its day, the wildest excesses of Christian ecstasy were sobriety itself. In time, however, the Christian prophecy died out. What were the causes which led to its decline? And what new agency of teaching took its place? Here we stand at the birth of the prophetic revival known as Montanism, and witness the final conflict between the forces of impulse and tradition. For a little while some of the churches of Asia make a bold attempt to maintain the free spontaneous character of Christian preaching. But the tendencies to settled order are too strong; and the struggle issues in the supremacy of the bishops as the depositories and exponents of apostolic truth. The story of this movement still remains to be told.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

PROFESSOR THOLUCK OF HALLE:

A GLANCE AT HIS RELIGIOUS HISTORY.*

THE Christian Church of the nineteenth century has offered to the student of religious history few characters more interesting and few lives more instructive than the character and life of the well-known modern Pietist Professor Tholuck of Halle. And his biography, by his pupil and friend, Professor Witte, supplies much if not ample material for the study of both. Two articles by Professor Siegfried, likewise a friend and pupil of Tholuck's, though now belonging to a freer theological school than either Tholuck or Witte, furnish valuable additional matter, and, what is more valuable still, as friends of a scientific theology must think, a wholesome critical check, here and there, on the pen of a theologically consentient biographer. In this short article we must confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the earlier years of Tholuck's life—his *Werden*—and a rapid notice of his religious and theological position. Those of our readers who wish to know more of the man we must refer to Professor Witte's volumes, the substance of which will no doubt before long be given to the English public by some of the numerous Anglo-Saxon admirers of the distinguished German, whose name was so widely known that a letter addressed from America, *Mr. Tholuck, Europe*, duly reached its destination.

Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck was born at Breslau

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* *Das Leben Dr. Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck's dargestellt von Professor Leopold Witte*, Erster Band 1799—1826, Zweiter Band 1826—1877 (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1884-6).

Zur Erinnerung an August Tholuck, von Carl Siegfried, in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, No. 45, 1885; No. 47, 1886.

March 30, 1799. He came into the world with a nature richly gifted in some directions but defective in others, and into surroundings of the most unfavourable description, and such as were fitted to aid the abnormal development of an abnormal physical and mental constitution. His physical organisation was not robust, and by neglect he grew up an extremely awkward boy. The *sinnliche* side of his nature remained through life defective and undeveloped. Of beauty, in the artistic sense, he had no true perception, and his love of the other sex was apparently purely intellectual and spiritual. For the great secular side of life, with its divine duties and interests, he possessed little sympathy or faculty. The deficient robustness of his physical frame was attended by an extreme degree of nervousness and excitability, which was shown in morbid melancholy, with outbreaks of passion on the slightest provocation and an alarming inclination to suicide. Happily this excessive sensibility brought with it intervals of exquisite and rapturous delight. His mental powers were great. He had an extraordinary and insatiable love of knowledge, and possessed prodigious receptive capacity, and a memory which never forgot what had once been entrusted to it. The passion he had for languages and the ease with which he could acquire them were both phenomenal. On the other hand, the faculty of systematic and logical thinking was not one of his distinguishing gifts. Moreover, the ease with which he received the thoughts of other minds, and got a practical familiarity with languages by the score, was not unnaturally attended by an inability, or, at all events, disinclination, to master the niceties of thought and speech.

Not often has a child thus organised and endowed been placed in circumstances more untoward. Home, school, church, and companions seemed to combine to check the natural and healthy development of his gifted and sensitive nature, and to necessitate diseased and abnormal action. Bereft of his own mother at the early age of seven, two

months after her death his father brought home into her place an unsympathetic, earthly-minded, and often cruel, stepmother. His father appears to have been a man without much feeling, and was at times extremely violent in the castigation of poor August, for whose spiritual wants he had as little sympathy as his wife. The piety of the house was traditional and perfunctory to such a degree that the boy looked upon its offices as part of the customary toil of the day. The one consolation of the motherless and almost fatherless lad was his books, largely novels, of which, at the age of thirteen, he had devoured some three thousand volumes. This one resource, unfortunately, only fed his morbid and excited sensibilities. Again and again he was rescued from a suicidal death as by accident. Nor was the Breslau Grammar School then under such management as to supply the deficiencies of the boy's home. August was ambitious of distinction, and, above all, of friendship with boys of a higher rank; but neither his masters nor his friends corrected the eccentricities of his genius and habits. It is true he acquired, in and out of the school, stores of knowledge such as would have excited the admiration of a polyhistor; but he learnt little thoroughly and systematically, and nothing was done by way of training his imagination or his reasoning powers, or correcting his false views of men and things, or breaking-in his wild, unreasonable, and ambitious will.

The Church did less for him than the school. The effect on his mind of the lessons in preparation for confirmation was a dislike of everything connected with religion. His pastor's proofs of the Resurrection of Christ resulted in August's firm belief that the miracle had never occurred. Still, his diary shows that he kept up occasional intercourse with God, and, remarkably enough, this intercourse is of that somewhat familiar and self-assertive character which is met with in his later life, and also in the religious experience of many really devout men, as though God's world was

made and governed for the special convenience of one individual. He carries to his God the smallest concerns of his life, even praying, much as he did in his later life, that he may get praise for his school exercises; and he does not scruple to back up his prayers with threats and defiance. Indeed, this defiance and want of reverence and absolute submission, in combination with such sincere devotion, are to us an almost inexplicable puzzle, and there is much in the piety of his later years which presents the same profound contradiction. There was in the boy, and at times in the man, what he called a demon and a Cyclops of self-will, breaking out in uncontrollable passion, defiance, or suicidal mania, the nature of which he unfortunately surrounded with mystery, and honoured with mythological or theological names. The Rationalism he despised might have helped him to an earlier and more thorough victory over this enemy, had not the course of his history led him to physicians with greater pretensions, both as to their diagnosis and their remedies. Yet in spite of this Cyclops, and all the defects of his nature, and the unfavourableness of his surroundings, the boy Tholuck left school and entered the University of Breslau, October, 1816, admired by the friends who knew him best for his extraordinary attainments and abilities, and loved passionately for the elevated idealism of his character. The deep personal influence which in after life he exercised over thousands already began to make itself felt.

When Tholuck entered the University he chose philology as his special pursuit, and devoted himself to the Oriental languages, and especially Arabic, which had been for nearly two years a favourite study under Professor Habicht. But the restless and ambitious nature of the young student drove him forth from the monotonous and beaten tracks of ordinary university life. In the course of his Arabic studies he had met with the works of the Orientalist, von Diez, and the peculiar piety of that scholar, with a faith in Providence and

the Bible which he had learnt, with deep shame, from the Mohammedans, made a profound impression on the rationalistic, sceptical youth. In the winter of 1816-17 the question of a tradesman, proposed in fun, whether he would go with him to Berlin, suggested to Tholuck the idea that Diez, who lived in the Prussian capital, might be destined by fate to lead him out of "his Egypt." In answer to his earnest prayers, he became convinced that Diez would be all to him that he wanted. But, alas, the tradesman, at whose expense the moneyless student proposed to make the journey, could not get his passport. Yet this difficulty was got over. The good man borrowed for him twenty-five thalers, and with that sum the inexperienced lad started for Berlin, arriving there January 12, 1817. He at once made his way to the house of the Orientalist, with a letter to him, written by himself, in which he asked to be received into his house as his adopted son! But the great man was ill, and could not be seen. Tholuck turned from the door and hastened to the Spree Bridge, with a demon voice in his ear, "Therefore there is no God," and with suicide in his heart. Happily he heard another voice behind him—that of Diez's servant, who, shocked by his despairing countenance as he turned from the door, had run after him to ask if he had not a letter which could be given to his master. The letter was presented, and its trembling writer summoned into the prelate's room. "Read your letter," the old man commanded, in his customary voice of thunder. After a pause Tholuck did as commanded. The answer was, "Young fellow, you are a strange man—a very strange man! But I believe Divine Providence has sent you to me. The secretary who has helped me in my work is very ill. You are master, to some extent, of the languages required, and you may take his place." Until Diez's death—April 7, 1817—Tholuck lived in his house, received instruction from him in the Oriental languages, was introduced into the learned society of Berlin, and particularly into the

Pietistic circle to which the distinguished and eccentric scholar belonged, and, through his influence, he matriculated in the Berlin University as student of theology, instead of philosophy.

After Diez's death Tholuck lived in Berlin three years as a student of the University, prosecuting theological and Oriental studies, and as to his future wavering in uncertainty between the vocations of a dragoman, an Eastern missionary, and a theological professor. Alarming symptoms of consumption finally led him to adopt the calling last named. Meanwhile he was passing through religious and mental conflicts, which, after long, frequent, and violent spasms, ended in the adoption of that religious and theological position which he subsequently, except at brief intervals, maintained to the end of his life. The next five years (1820-24) he was Privat-Docent and Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Berlin, and one of the most energetic advocates and supporters of foreign and home missionary work. Amongst his theological lectures was a course on the history of theology in the eighteenth century—a subject to which he afterwards devoted so much attention, and on which he was at this time the instructor of his life-long friend Pusey, when the latter was collecting materials for his excellent book on the causes of Rationalism in Germany. During this period he published learned essays on Oriental philosophy (the study of which, however, he had often, in his Pietistic moods, felt to be a "snare"), his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and his most popular book on the Doctrine of Sin, in which he pourtrayed, as clearly as his loose habits of thought and high-flown diction permitted, the process of his conversion and the faith in which he rested. This book had momentary influence on John Sterling.

His connection with the missionary societies of the world, particularly of England, together with his writings and personal acquaintance with English students, procured for him a warm reception in this country on a visit which he paid in the spring of 1825. This visit was memorable to himself and

to not a few in England, who thought they had found in the young German professor "a believer" who combined the faith and the learning which would vanquish Rationalism. Unfortunately for Tholuck, an evil habit of inaccuracy, and the position into which he had been put by friends in high places in Berlin, permitted him at a missionary meeting in London to describe the state of religion in Germany in the darkest colours and the University of Halle as "the seat of unbelief." In the autumn of the same year the Prussian Government inquired whether he would accept a chair of theology in this very "seat of unbelief." The theological faculty at Halle naturally objected to the appointment of a man who had in a foreign country branded its members with the mark of "unbelief." Tholuck found it desirable to make a public explanation and partial retractation of his speech, and wrote further to Gesenius at Halle in a tone in remarkable contrast with his unfortunate utterances in London. The Prussian Government insisted on his appointment to the chair, which was duly made, and he left Berlin with the commission from both the Crown and the philosopher Hegel to take with him a *pereat* to the Rationalism of Halle. To this mission he devoted the best years of his life, and the University of the early Pietists continued to be the scene of his labours to the end of his days.

Without the peculiar form of attack which he conducted, Rationalism would undoubtedly have disappeared from Halle as from the other universities of Germany. Tholuck himself had become inwardly estranged from it through influences deeper and stronger than he could fathom or control. Yet in the course of the first fourteen years of his work in Halle (1826—1840), by his great personal influence over students, his popularity as a lecturer and writer, and his unusual power as a preacher, he was largely instrumental in changing the character of the theology of the University, and succeeded in

making himself the most influential person in the theological faculty and in the church of the province. The remaining thirty-seven years of his life (1840—1877) were occupied in defending the position he had won in thought and work against opponents on the left and the right. He opposed, on the one hand, the Free Churches represented by Uhlich, and the critical conclusions reached by Strauss; and, on the other, though with much hesitancy and uncertainty, the narrow Confessionalism of Hengstenberg's school. The friends of free thought and free speech must condemn some of the methods which he adopted with a view of repressing what he deemed error; but they may find satisfaction in the evidence which his writings and his biography supply of the openness of his mind to ideas and principles with which traditional and irrational orthodoxy must be for ever irreconcilable. Into the details of his work at Halle we cannot here enter, full of interest as they often were.

We have now to briefly glance at Tholuck's religious position, with a view to which the course of his outward life has been indicated.

Tholuck's conscious Christian life did not date, like that of so many distinguished Christians, from early childhood. When he arrived in Berlin, a poor unknown student, in 1817, his religious views and feelings were as vague and uncertain as his prospects and mission in life. He was eminently in a condition of spiritual need. For his splendid gifts and soaring ambition he wanted what he could regard as a divine vocation. The strong, warm feeling and vivid fancy of his passionate nature craved gratification, and greatly needed chastening. Lofty ideals of virtue, heroism, and truth had roused in his breast vague and indefinite desires. He was constitutionally liable to fits of extreme depression, verging on madness, and depended on divine or human interposition to rescue him from himself. He was proud, passionate, and self-willed in the highest degree, and wholly unable to control

himself when vexed or thwarted. His theological ideas were the strangest medley of the most elementary piety and eighteenth century Rationalism. He was without either philosophy or ethics, practical or theoretical. But he had accidentally and occasionally come under the influence of simple Biblical piety, while, on the other hand, Rationalism and Romanticism had far more deeply touched both his intellect and his heart. He entered Berlin, therefore, in deepest need of the light, control, peace, and work, of religion and its associations. Had he come to the capital in a less Romantic fashion, and had his first friends been of another school than von Diez and his Pietistic circle, probably Tholuck would have been "converted" as effectually, though with other results on his religious development and future career. As it was, he was thrown at once among truly Christian people, but of a Moravian or Methodistical type, whose influence gradually, and gradually only, subdued, cheered, and won him. He found amongst them pious, warm-hearted lovers of Christ and the Bible, zealous missionaries to the heathen at home and abroad; and their love, humility, faith, and passionate devotion were all in striking contrast with what he had met with in his past life, or had experienced in his own heart in its ferment of passion, scepticism, and ambition. So Tholuck was gained for modern Pietism. He found in it a church, a mission, a discipline, an ideal. Much, but not the whole, of his nature met thus with the satisfaction of its needs. For there were elements in Tholuck's composition which the faith, the philosophy, and the science of Diez, Kottwitz, and, later, Stier and Hengstenberg could not satisfy.

It is quite true that the young Romanticist and Rationalist found in the Bible the saving word of God to sinful men, and in Jesus Christ the Redeemer from sin and despair. In the Bible and in Christ he fixed the anchor of his religious trust; and through all the storms of an inwardly tempestuous spiritual history he never for long felt it insecure. But these

articles of his creed were held by him on other grounds than by his teachers and friends. They were held, too, in a much less orthodox form, and several intimately related doctrines were by him either rejected or rationalised. Nor could it be otherwise. Stier once called his friend a "Pietistic Rationalist," and in his later years Tholuck confessed, though he had been sent to Halle to exorcise from that university the spirit of the Rationalistic critic, Semler, that Rationalism had been to some extent a legitimate development in the church, and that Semler and Francke together represented the true aims of the theological faculty of Halle. The speculative, the universalistic, the critical, and the rationalistic tendencies of modern thought occupied far too strong a place in his nature to be expelled by the prayers or arguments of such men as Stier or Gerlach. From the very first he differed fundamentally from the theologians with whom he was associated, in that to him it was a principle in all his work to justify Christianity to the reason and feeling of mankind. When about 1840 he was charged by some of the Hengstenberg party with a tendency to Hegelianism, he maintained that he had always confidently held that Christian faith can be justified to the reason, or, rather, be shown to be itself reason.

The Christianity of the Berlin Pietists, with its doctrine of sin, its Saviour, and its Bible, had powerfully appealed to young Tholuck's experience. It met the deepest wants of his nature and condition with methods and remedies peculiarly suited to both, whilst Rationalism (then in its decadence) could at best prescribe for his disordered intellect, without touching the more painful and radical trouble of his disordered heart and will. The relief he thus found bound him by ties of infinite gratitude to his Saviour and the Bible. His faith in both rested on his experience of what he believed they had done for him. But he probably never gave a clear account, even to himself, of the exact nature, measure, and grounds of his obligations

to either. With regard to the Bible he held views which forbad him to appeal to it simply as an infallible authority. Its inspiration was to him partial and not plenary, and was confined to truths concerning salvation. These truths, he held, are also taught in the Bible in forms accommodated to the varying capacities of the readers of the book. Indeed, he admitted that there are legends in the Gospel history. Ultimately, therefore, the reader must determine what the eternal truth in the Bible is. Moreover, Tholuck's wide reading in all literatures ancient and modern, with his fine gifts of appreciation, had shown him that other nations than the Hebrews had been taught of God. With regard to Christ, Tholuck never received the orthodox doctrine of his work. He denied that the Atonement was necessary as regards God, and in a way which shows how vague and uncertain his views on this point really were, he sought to show that the frivolity or the despair of men alone required an Atonement. He gives up entirely the idea of satisfaction. The essential ground of man's obligation to Christ seems in his view to be Christ's presentation of the Divine ideal of life and his removal of the sense of sin which hinders the pursuit of it. As to the *basis* of faith in Christ as the Redeemer from sin, it did not in Tholuck's case consist in a written revelation attested by prophecies and miracles (on both of which phenomena he is heretical), but in personal and historical experience. And, no doubt, Tholuck had himself found deliverance from sin, wretchedness, and scepticism, through the preaching of Christ to him by the Berlin Pietists. Whether he could not have been saved in another way, some may be disposed to ask, and not those only who are doubtful as to the Divine mission of Christ. They will also ask whether Tholuck did not erroneously generalise his personal religious needs into the universal type of human want, and then define the mission of Christ in accordance with this peculiar and individual

necessity. His doctrine regarding the person of Christ it is not easy to gather. Of course, like other German teachers, he uses the term *Gottmensch*, but there is reason to believe quite loosely. Witte (ii. p. 55) quotes the following instructive remark from his Diary: "Before Christ's coming the Logos had always been the light of men. Consequently he did not descend from above upon the man Jesus. But as the Logos appeared amongst men in their religious nature, he appeared in Christ in an absolute manner. Therefore the Logos is nothing else than the Divine in all beings." It is true, when put on his defence by Hengstenberg, he declared that at that time he firmly believed (implying that earlier he did not) in the Trinity and pre-existence of Christ. But in one of his latest works, he maintains that the Augsburg Confession adopted in its first article on the Trinity a definition of the word *person* which it had inherited from one of the ancient philosophers; that the earlier Lutheran theologians did not adhere strictly to that definition, and that modern theologians are the more justified in attempting to modify it in accordance with changed philosophical conceptions. Similarly he maintained that the article on the person of Christ, on which in modern times there has been as much contention, inquiry, and thought as on the article of justification at the time of the Reformation, requires now to be put into a form which would be less exposed to the attack of enemies, and more in accord with the habits of thought of its friends.* Elsewhere the Christological speculations of Dorner are mentioned by him with commendation. Indeed, Carl Schwarz's strong statement is not too strong: "Tholuck has, to a certain degree, taken a sympathetic share in all the heresies of recent times, and is much too versatile and much too subjective to resign himself to the letter of Scripture or the formularies of the creeds."†

Tholuck has not attempted to render a connected and

* *Werke*, Vol. VIII. p. 232 sq.; *Predigten über das Augsb. Glaubensbekenntniss.*

† *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie.* 4th ed. 1869, p. 110

clear account of his religious system, and all his biographers admit without reserve that it was not as a theological thinker that he influenced his students and his generation. He led thousands from scepticism and pantheism to a life of personal devotion to God and Christ, but hardly one of his disciples rested in his peculiar theological position. Some of them turned to the right, submitting their intellects to the creeds and the letter of the Bible, while others advanced into light and freedom by boldly following out his principle, that Christianity and reason are one. How far he himself found rest in a position which failed to satisfy his disciples we have not sufficient means at present of judging. But Witte's biography plainly enough shows that all his life through the battle of faith was with him a stern and terrible one, never ended but ever to be begun afresh. That is in itself no proof, it is true, that his faith was defective, far from it; but when an analysis of it presents numerous glaring inconsistencies and weak places, we may incline to the suspicion that had he brought his Christian belief into greater harmony with his intellect, his inward conflicts would have been less terrible, and the cloud of depression which hung over most of his days would have been less dark and tempestuous. Indeed, it seems to us that the tragedy of Tholuck's sad history—and that sad it was this biography of Witte's abundantly shows—was his reception into the house of Diez, with its Pietistic connections. Had circumstances thrown him into Schleiermacher's circle, he might have come under a discipline of thought which would have saved him from those terrible trials of his faith which naturally sprang from his Pietistic views of God's dealings with His children and his confused and halting ideas of Christ and the Bible. A little faith strongly and clearly held can be a greater strength and joy than the longest creed confusedly and spasmodically grasped in defiance of the intellect's remonstrances.

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

*THREE GREAT SAYINGS OF JESUS.**

"If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself."—JOHN vii. 17.

WHEN I was a very young man, fresh from the college class-room, a stranger in that neighbouring town where it fell to me to commence my ministry, and quite new to the possession of a pulpit of my own, our little fraternity of churches was much exercised with the struggle between two tendencies in different groups of our ministers and our congregations. On the one hand, several of us young men, I in Ireland and my friends in England, had brought from college an enthusiastic faith in the principle of pulpit freedom, and were quite resolved never to abate one jot of our claim in that regard; and I think we even went further in the application of that principle than some of those who had trained us in it had themselves contemplated. On the other hand, there were many reverend men amongst us, in England as well as here, men who had given the pledge of long years of faithful Christian ministry, which we young men had not given, who were strongly for limiting, if not by article and creed, yet by moral and social pressure, the freedom claimed. And especially what came to be a very earnest—here and there, even a bitter—contest centred round the person of Jesus Christ, some of the elders, of whom now we can only speak with deep and reverent affection, desiring to protect his person from free criticism and to obtain some guarantee that men set to speak from our pulpits should

* A Sermon preached in the Church of the Second Nonsubscribing Congregation, before the Belfast Unitarian Society, April 10, 1887, by the Rev. RICHARD A. ARMSTRONG, B.A.

accept his moral and spiritual teaching, and acknowledge his headship of the Church. On the other hand, some of the younger men claimed that even on the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth we must have liberty to judge for ourselves, and that, if indeed he stood so pre-eminently above every other teacher the world had known, and was so singled out by God to be filled with the truth of God above all others, he must stand shoulder to shoulder on the free and open arena of the world with the noble company of the world's saints and sages, heroes, prophets, martyrs; he must make good his unique position by consenting to free comparison with the Buddha and Socrates and Plato and all the rest on the open lines of historical and critical research.

I do not wonder that our elders tried to stop us and rebuked our temerity roundly. I do not wonder that only here and there was found one wise enough to let us say and preach and write what we would, confident that all would be well in the end. We must have seemed a somewhat reckless and irresponsible young crew. But neither can I repent to-day that we claimed and held all that liberty of thought and speech; for I am quite sure that it has ended in our arriving at a deeper and more vital appreciation of the wonderful life and word of Christ than we should ever have reached if we had been restrained and silenced.

But now that twenty years have slid away since the epoch of which I speak, now that that struggle—in England, at least—has long ago given way to general peace and freedom, we, who then seemed so iconoclastic and so rash, are finding out, I think, certain riches of Christ by us then quite unsearchable, simply because we were young and had not sounded as yet the depths of the mystery of life. With growing and deepening experience of life and its difficulties and bewilderments, intellectual and moral, we begin to see and feel the profundity of meaning and the marvellous illumination in the characteristic teachings of Jesus, in a way

that was not open to us when mind and thought and inward experience were less ripe than now. Let us cite three sayings only of the wonderful teacher, but three sayings not casual or accidental, but gathering each into a phrase the whole outcome and upshot of his deep searchings into the inner meaning of things and the unseen relations of men to God; and I say that, as the years have slid away, these sayings and the like have slowly opened out to us their astonishing wealth of meaning, and we have come to feel how they touch the very truth and lay hold of the very solution of those supreme problems which everywhere penetrate human life and cry aloud for their answer in the hearts of men in all the lands and in all the ages.

First, then, that greatest of the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Yes,—that is so. Any ingenuous, clean-hearted youth is ready to say "Amen" to that. And he thinks that he understands it. And he does understand it in a measure, but only in the measure of his own closely limited intellectual and moral and spiritual experience. But as the years roll by, and rank after rank the vast army of the difficulties of life, intellectual, moral, spiritual, press upon him, and would hem him in and bear him down, behold! new meanings unroll before him in the ancient phrase, and cover him as armour to protect him from the shafts of doubt and fear. He meets the philosophers of the world, and they are for ever sounding down into the abyss of things to find proof of the eternal God, and everywhere there is a lower abysm than they can sound, dark and fell, and the proof is an uncertain proof, and doubt re-echoes and resounds again from cliff to cliff, and Agnosticism declaring "We cannot know" presses hard on Theism with challenge and derision. Then in the silence of the night steal across the jaded brain the simple words, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,"—and the man knows that in experience, in the very

vision of the soul, in the fact of sensitive contact with the divine, is a living proof of God before which the spectre of speculative doubt fades out and haunts no more. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Yes, the young man at the outset may believe that true, and yet not know the divine fulness of its truth. But temptation closes around him; now he yields to the lower motive, accepts the worldly motive, is content with worldly approval, and lo! he looks into his heart, and because the purity of that mirror has been stained, the holy image is dulled or blotted out, and he is sure of God no more. But he braces himself again to the struggle, he wins back his footing on the higher levels of moral life, he holds his way steadfastly and bravely, no longer swerving to the line of the popular conscience, but keeping his life clean and true and sweet; and he looks into his heart again, and the mirror shines, and the light of the countenance of God is visible, beautiful and sure, to his ravished sight. And then he understands what that means, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Or take that other word of Jesus, when they wanted to know who should be greatest in the kingdom, and he beckoned a little child to his knee, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." If any worldly man heard that, either then or now, and had not heard it before, it would sound to him sheer folly and fanaticism. And the young man, ingenuous and sweet-minded, who hears it, can only give an acquiescence to its superficial meaning. Yes, no doubt innocence and affectionateness and the other fair and lovely characteristics of a good child are necessary in the character of one who would be accepted of Christ and God. But the profounder meanings of the words, these the man only learns by slow degrees as the moral trials of life score the scars of deep experience upon his soul. Through these, and through these alone, he learns how the spirit of

competition or of ambition or of self-exaltation or of self-indulgence presses and presses on us through the years of our life; how it is often very hard indeed to distinguish it from a right and good spirit which a man does well to follow; how, nevertheless, as it enters into a man, freshness of feeling, the spirit of ready response to what is pure and lovely and good slip away from him, sympathy withers, and ideals fade, and the childlikeness dies out of him; and how then, behold! he is already marred and maimed in the inward man, and can no longer take joy in the pure affection and the mood of simple reverence which are the kingdom of heaven; and how, therefore, he must be converted, be turned right round, and put out of him all that habit of mind which he had thought was manly, and refresh in him the pure, sweet tempers of a little child's pleasure and delight and simple affections, ere he can so much as breathe the air of that true kingdom of God which is the only real joy and peace and rest for any of us all.

And deepest of all that wonderful counsel issuing from the heart of the noblest life the world has ever seen, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it." To the man of the world, not folly and fanaticism only, but sheer nonsense and contradiction. And to the young man, though he be sweet-minded and ingenuous, yet no very luminous gospel utterance,—only that we must not seek ourselves, that we must put away selfishness, that we must live as much as we can for others,—to all of which he readily assents, and quotes Confucius as having said very much the same thing. But the years roll by and he searches the philosophies, and lo! they one and all treat happiness or self-satisfaction in some form or other as the highest thing, and not one of them all is able to give an intelligent account of this universe of God's. And he sets before him in practical life many purposes which

seem honest and generous and good, counting on the reward which will surely come to him; and he fails and fails again, and the peace of God does not abide with him; till at last, when many years are counted off—because he has prayed and striven honestly according to his lights—the self in him fades from his consciousness, and he forgets to think of any reward whatever, however honourable or pure, and is slowly drawn into living and toiling and striving quite without any regard to himself at all, in sheer love and devotion, and that "altruism," as the philosophers call it, which cannot be adopted into a man's mode of life deliberately and of purpose, but steals over it and transforms it and consecrates it quite unawares as the natural outflow of honest and humble loyalty to what is good and true; and then, when self as an end and aim has been wholly merged in love and service, by some wondrous spiritual alchemy, behold! the deep happiness and peace and restfulness of soul are in him, and when he thinks of it he finds that they have been with him long. And he who has long ago relinquished utterly the pursuit of happiness, that elusive will o' the wisp, as an end in life, looking one day wonderingly into his own heart, cries amazed, "Why, how happy I am; how happy I have been this long time since!" And then he understands—understands in its marvellous fulness of truth—the hard saying of the Christ, "save life, and lose it; but lose it for love's sake, and it is saved."

All these teachings then—and many more undying utterances of the like drift—which flow down to us direct from the man Jesus,—we cannot really understand in their fulness by any explication when we still are young,—young, I do not mean, in years, but young in meditation and prayer and life and suffering and service. But as we grow, if we live in any way truly, and keep open minds and hearts, more and more luminous, more and more interpretive, more and more far-reaching and penetrating and deep-piercing, do such sayings come to be to us; till they seem, simple as they are, to be of

a boundless measure and to gather up in them the solution of all the most baffling questions of philosophy and all the most bewildering problems of practical life. And growing in meaning and compass with our growth, they come to be worth immeasurably more to us, and to be of immeasurably vaster power in our lives, than if we had at the outset repeated them in any creed or put our hand to them in any formal confession of faith.

It must never be overlooked that the teaching of Jesus as summed up in those three supreme sayings, the greatest of the Beatitudes, the call to become as little children, and the call to that which Matthew Arnold names the "secret of Jesus," the losing and saving of our life, could never by any possibility have been thought out and made good by any purely intellectual process. Philosophy proper, the intellectual dealing with the tremendous questions of life and being, not only never has reached, but in its very nature never could reach unaided these three transcendent affirmations. No reasoning could ever prove that by being pure in heart we should become through direct vision quite sure that God is real. No reasoning could ever demonstrate that the way to the harmony of all the faculties was through entering into the childlike spirit; on the contrary, philosophy always strained forwards towards a *man's* mind which was to be quite other than that of a *child.* It held that the very first thing was to grow out of the child's illusions. Least of all could reasoning ever prove that the supreme peace was to be attained by giving up all search for it, and devoting the whole energies in other directions without a care for personal happiness or joy. Every possible analogy from which philosophy could reason points precisely the other way. In every other possible pursuit, save that of happiness, worthy or unworthy, the pursuit of wealth, of fame, of learning, of goodness, the consummation of all experience and all wise counsel is packed into the familiar nursery distych. It is in

the pursuit of happiness alone that the "try, try, try again," failed yesterday, fails to-day, and is irredeemably doomed to fail for ever.

So that these teachings of the Nazarene each and all, philosophy unaided never could by any possibility have worked out. And yet the moment all these things are suggested to the man of mature mind and heart, he finds in his hands an instrument which solves the mighty riddles of philosophy; he has a code which answers for ever the solemn interrogatory whether God be a fancy or a fact, answers for ever the urgent problem how is a man to live, and answers for ever the tremendous issue whence may we win peace for torment, spiritual wholeness in place of the distraction of our powers. This philosophy, this ethics, this burning faith glowing from the lips of Christ harmonises as nothing else has ever harmonised the seeming discords which have ranged the wise in opposing ranks since ever human thought began!

And all that although this was a young man himself, if you count by years, who shaped into speech such potent thought. A young man—the general opinion is, barely thirty years of age—and a young man who certainly had no great learning even for his day, who was mostly self-taught, who had passed his youth in the rude labour of a common handicraft. Here was a man who, to outward seeming, was without advantages, yet a man who, while yet young for any strong thought whatever, opened his lips and spoke things on immeasurable themes which we men of the modern day only begin deeply to understand when the intellectual and moral and spiritual experience of half a life-time has shaped out the chambers of our minds.

How came this marvellous realisation of the essence of the hidden truth of God to this young Galilean?

Undoubtedly he had splendid intellectual faculty. But that alone would not have been enough. It was the unswerving moral and religious rectitude added to the resplendent

intellectual power which alone fashioned him to capacity for such illumination and such piercing insight into spiritual truth. He himself stands the supreme example of that penetrating maxim, "If any man willeth to do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine." It was the utter fidelity of the ethical man, the transparent purity of heart, the absolute allegiance in thought and life to the very truest and best he knew—it was all this working in a being of the grandest intellectual organisation, that made him to see and know and declare truth after which the world's philosophers had groped in vain.

And for my part I do not wonder that men penetrated by the meaning of his words, thrilling to the truth of his wonderful suggestions, finding in what he said the answer to all the deepest questions which stir in their own hearts, and as the years slip by and inward experience widens finding more and more of significance in these marvellous words,—I do not wonder that men thus impressed, and seeing also the exquisite beauty, the sublime and solemn grandeur of his life, should think that here indeed was none other than the eternal God made flesh. I do not wonder that they should see in him the incarnation of divinity. For I too confess—nay, zealously declare—that never other man, of whom I at any rate have heard or read, spake as this man spake. And yet I will not say that this was God. I will not say or think that here was any departure from the normal working of God on the human spirit. Rather does it seem to me that here is the type that was in the mind of God when in the primeval day he said "Let us make man in our image." This, even this, I hold, is what man may be. This is the level of spiritual discernment to which the human soul may rise. Beautiful and holy is this picture of the Christ, impressed for ever on the memory of our race. Is it not the picture to which God wills that at last, in the full coming of his kingdom, every soul of man shall be conformed?

SHAKSPERE'S TIMON:

A Study of Character.

MANY readers of Shakspere have acknowledged only little liking for his play of *Timon of Athens*. It is, indeed, confessedly the least popular, and that in part, perhaps, because the least known of all the plays of the great Master. In it, as in Sir Walter Scott's story of the "Black Dwarf," circumstances seem to superinduce on character, or perhaps rather to develop out of it, qualities weird, almost fiendish. In our play, however, the qualities are not dwarfish. Instead, we have depicted an even gigantic misanthropy.

The mention of the novelist may serve to point out one great distinction in the craft of these two chief branches of fiction—the novel and the drama. The novelist embraces, in his view, as it were, a wide landscape of human or personal history. We see all the influences which go to produce the character of his heroes, so that we understand why they act in this direction and not in that. But the dramatist has a narrower field for the exercise of his craft. He introduces his *personæ* at some sudden moment in their upgrown history. We have to judge of what they are from what they do, whilst the novelist has prepared us for what his heroes do by giving us many hints and suggestions, often even descriptions, of what they are. Thus the dramatist is an intenter novelist, and so needs a stronger reserve of power in himself, and in his readers a far keener and more cultured discernment.

If Shakspere accordingly had been novelist rather than dramatist, we might have known more surely and easily who and what his Timon was. Being dramatist, we first of all

stand in wonder before the man depicted, and then ask: What made Timon? It is not enough to ask: What made him misanthropos? That is plain enough in the play; and we miss the very lessons and force of the play if we ask only this. There is the prior question, in order of time, though the later one in moral study: What made him such that the overthrow of his fortunes, and the ingratitude of his friends, transformed him into hater of his kind? We need to find the evil *daimon* hidden from the outset beneath all the pleasantry and luxury amid which he is first presented to us in the play.

It is well known that all Shaksperean critics accord, with whatever different theories of explanation, in regarding this play as not wholly Shakspere's; and this alone is sufficient to account for some want of general interest in the play. Apparently there is in some way,—though, if so, it must be acknowledged to be of set purpose,—a mixing of two dramas; one of *Alcibiades*, in which his changeful fortunes had a much wider place; the other the drama of *Timon* foisted upon that larger but less interesting one, so that the first becomes a kind of scenic accompaniment and background to the second, and this that Timon may become contrasted, not only with the cynic Apemantus, but with the practical and worldly-wise Alcibiades; all in different ways, and different degrees of permanence, misanthrope. In any case it must be allowed that the work of an inferior playwright especially in the earlier scenes, and the blunter conversations, appears mixed up with that of the master-hand. The many examples of rhyming verse, and other indications on which the critics rely in supporting this conclusion, need not be repeated here. Nor shall I stay to point out the illustrations which might be given abundantly of the ingenuity of editors in turning prose, and somewhat prosaic prose, into still more prosaic blank verse. All these are matters of literal criticism, which, however interesting and important, may be left

to the students of Shakspere, with the commentaries in their hands. No one doubts that Timon himself, as he appears here, however he may have been presented in the early fables with which Shakspere was familiar, is indeed and throughout Shakspere's own Timon, and that the Master dwelt on this character, and depicted it with all the impassioned delight of a tragedist, led to it in his latest years, and by experiences of his own which had left their sad and yet healthful marks on his own character. He depicts him with an affection that is even tender, discovering some good angel as well as the evil *daimon* in the suffering man, and in doing this gives an invigorating warning to others, because first of all to himself; and it is on *Timon*, undoubtedly Shakspere's own work, I wish to fix chief attention.

I think it must be clear that—setting aside all thought of a combination in the play of two dramas, that of *Alcibiades* and that of *Timon*—the drama of *Timon* itself is twofold. There is a narrower and intenser drama within a wider. There is what may be called the simple drama of misfortune, having in its prominent scenes what may be so often seen—when power and wealth are brought to totter and melt as surely as castles in the air—the manifestation of the world's ingratitude toward those on whom it had fawned. It is almost of the misery of wealth that it finds friends. So far the drama, with one exception, which we shall notice presently, is on ordinary lines. There is the lavish expenditure of the millionaire, the splendour of luxury, the prodigality of waste. And then, when the whole fabric of fortune totters, the friends who have been as summer birds are all together ready for their flight. The first Act is occupied with the recounting of the splendid magnificence, with only the artistic slighter suggestions of the decay to which it is doomed; notably, in the words of the prophetic colloquy in the first Scene:—

> "You see this confluence, this great flood of visitors.
> I have, in this rough work, shaped out a man,

Whom this beneath-world doth embrace and hug,
With amplest entertainment :—"

. . . . . .

" You see how all conditions, how all minds,
As well of glib and slippery creatures as
Of grave and austere quality, tender down
Their services to Lord Timon : his large fortune,
Upon his good and gracious nature hanging,
Subdues and properties to his love and tendance
All sorts of hearts ; yea, from the glass-fac'd flatterer
To Apemantus, that few things loves better
Than to abhor himself : even he drops down
The knee before him, and returns in peace
Most rich in Timon's nod."

. . . . . .

" Sir, I have upon a high and pleasant hill
Feign'd Fortune to be throned : "

. . . . . .

" When Fortune, in her shift and change of mood,
Spurns down her late belov'd, all his dependants,
Which labour'd after him to the mountain's top
Even on their knees and hands, let him slip down,
Not one accompanying his declining foot."

The second Act displays the "crack of doom"; disaster has fallen; and the creditors are clamouring against Timon. In this Act the character of Flavius, the faithful steward shines out in lines of special beauty :—

"O my good lord,
At many times I brought in my accounts,
Laid them before you ; you would throw them off,
And say, you found them in mine honesty.
When, for some trifling present, you have bid me
Return so much, I have shook my head and wept ;
Yea, 'gainst the authority of manners, pray'd you
To hold your hand more close : I did endure
Not seldom, nor no slight checks, when I have
Prompted you, in the ebb of your estate,
And your great flow of debts.

. . . . . .

"O my good lord, the world is but a word:
Were it all yours to give in a breath,
How quickly were it gone!"

And again there is the slighter prefigurement of what is to follow in the next Act. For although, little heeding, Timon meets the warning with almost jaunty faith:—

"And, in some sort, these wants of mine are crown'd,
That I account them blessings; for by these
Shall I try friends: you shall perceive how you
Mistake my fortunes; I am wealthy in my friends":—

yet the sad foreboding has been heard:—

"Ah, when the means are gone that buy this praise,
The breath is gone whereof this praise is made:
Feast-won, fast lost; one cloud of winter showers,
These flies are couch'd."

The third Act, with some rough, though scarcely Shaksperean humour, describes the couching of the flies. The servants of Timon's friends are agreed that "the days are wax'd shorter with him."

"You must consider, that a prodigal course
Is like the sun's; but not, like his, recoverable."

And with the continuing hypocrisy that at one time had fawned, all have excuse most fair and ready for the refusal of help now that Timon tries his friends.

"Commend me bountifully to his good lordship; and I hope his honour will conceive the fairest of me, because I have no power to be kind:—And tell him this from me, I count it one of my greatest afflictions, say, that I cannot pleasure such an honourable gentleman."

And last of all there comes the hardened fool who professes himself hurt that he was not sent to first, and so will not help:—

"I had rather than the worth of thrice the sum,
He had sent to me first, but for my mind's sake;
I had such a courage to do him good. But now return,
And with their faint reply this answer join;
'Who bates mine honour shall not know my coin."

By the side of these he shows a brave and honest man, who only said:—

"La, la, la, ...
Alas, good lord! a noble gentleman 'tis, if he would not keep so good a house. Many a time and often I have dined with him, and told him on't, and come again to supper to him, of purpose to have him spend less; and yet he would embrace no counsel, take no warning by my coming. Every man has his fault, and honesty is his; I have told him on't, but I could never get him from't . . . . Draw nearer, honest Flaminius. Thy lord's a bountiful gentleman; but thou art wise; and thou knowest well enough, although thou comest to me, that this is no time to lend money, especially upon bare friendship, without security. Here's three solidares for thee; good boy, wink at me and say thou sawest me not. Fare thee well."

"Now his friends are dead," is the natural verdict of one of Timon's servants. "Now all are fled, save"—this, after a modern fashion which still treats Divine help as only, after all, a last resort—"save the gods only."

But the gods in this case were poor repairers of Timon's fortunes. And the remaining Acts exhibit Timon amid the wreckage of his life, of which again there was prefigurement, before the third Act closed, in the apparent madness of the mocking host, who once more crowded his halls with expectant and ready-to-be-repentant guests, and set before them the mocking feast with the mocking grace for the gods who "require our thanks":—

"Let no assembly of twenty be without a score of villains. . . . . For these my present friends,—as they are to me nothing so in nothing bless them, and to nothing they are welcome."

So far, then, the drama is the somewhat ordinary one of the disappointment of human ambitions, of short-sighted hopes. But now begins to be developed the drama on a narrower field, but with far intenser force. That was the drama of circumstance, but here is a drama whose play is within. And we have to mark the undermining and the

crash, not of any palace of pleasure, but of the inward fortress of the mind, when the sufferer has not been trained to meet the blows of circumstance. It is this narrower and intenser drama which gives the life and meaning to the play. Here the true spectator's interest becomes arrested and fixed.

And here arises the question: Why was there such a complete overthrow of heart and soul in Timon through the shattering of his fortunes and the ingratitude of his friends? There is something characteristically Teutonic in the suggestion of Gervinus, in his reading of the character of Timon, that he was never many-sided, but always simply one-sided, as if the successful assault on that one side of his character which is plainly evident left him a prey for ever to all enemies that would prey on the inward life. With unfeigned respect for such a commentator, this is something like those definitions which simply recount the qualities of the object defined without bearing in them any fresh elucidation. If Timon was one-sided, we must know what made him so. We need to go down to the foundations of character, the roots of life. Assuming that the great dramatist himself had in his later years been exposed to some great strain and sorrow that had almost unmanned him—the reflection being found in the play—what was it in himself that had prevented the unmanning, only barest hints of which we see in Timon, in the point that even his heart at the last was not untouched by the clear conviction that one faithful friend there did remain:—

"Had I a steward
So true, so just, and now so comfortable?
It almost turns my dangerous nature mild.
Let me behold thy face.—Surely, this man
Was born of woman.
Forgive my general and exceptless rashness,
You perpetual-sober gods! I do proclaim
One honest man—mistake me not—but one;
No more, I pray,—and he's a steward.

How fain would I have hated all mankind !
And thou redeem'st thyself : but all, save thee,
I fell with curses."

and then in the pathetic close :—

" Come not to me again ; but say to Athens,
Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
Upon the beached verge of the salt flood ;
Who once a day with his embossed froth
The turbulent surge shall cover : thither come,
And let my grave-stone be your oracle.
Lips, let sour words go by, and language end :
What is amiss, plague and infection mend !
Graves only be men's works, and death their gain !
Sun, hide thy beams ! Timon hath done his reign."

interpreted by Alcibiades when he reads the double epitaph to the Senate, and then continues :—

" These well express in thee thy latter spirits :
Though thou abhorr'dst in us our human griefs,
Scorn'dst our brain's flow, and those our droplets which
From niggard nature fall, yet rich conceit
Taught thee to make vast Neptune weep for aye
On thy low grave, on faults forgiven."

What was this germ of tenderness and of good in Timon which, if it had only been suffered to germinate, would have saved his soul from wretchedness so utter ?

That the germ, whatever its nature, was not allowed to germinate betrays some radical defect in the inwrought character of Timon. " Poor honest lord," says Flavius, " brought low by his own heart." And he adds, with the undiscerning of the mere servant, " undone by goodness."

One of the senators, in the conference with Alcibiades, is made to hint at the fatal want, although the reference is not directly to Timon, but to the unnamed friend for whom Alcibiades pleads :—

" He's truly valiant, that can wisely suffer
The worst that man can breathe ; and make his wrongs

His outsides,—to wear them like his raiment, carelessly ;
And ne'er prefer his injuries to his heart,
To bring it into danger."

But as Timon, in the early Acts of the play, is not set forth negatively, but exuberant amid the positive delights of his luxury and prodigality, this defect will have to be sought for as masked by some strange sense of possessions gained, rather than defect discovered. That is, Timon will be probably a deceiver of himself.

It has to be remembered that Timon's fortunes are shattered, not from without, but from within. His castle crumbles in the building. It would be a total misreading of the character of Timon to represent his prodigality as exercised for the sake of power and social influence, or from the vulgar love of display. Although

"'Tis pity bounty had not eyes behind,
That man might ne'er be wretched for his mind;"

the Steward's ready judgment on the nobleness of that mind is not without apparent support, nor is it strange that he regarded him as "undone by goodness." Timon speaks truly of himself:—

"No villainous bounty yet hath passed my heart ;
Unwisely, not ignobly, have I given."

Timon has loved giving for giving's sake:—

"'Tis not enough to give ;
Methinks I could deal kingdoms to my friends,
And ne'er be weary."
"Never mind
Was to be so unwise, to be so kind,"

is the sad meditation of the faithful Steward. Timon gives from love of giving, but it can scarcely be said from love of those on whom the gifts are lavished. He stands before us as the type of those blessed, nay, cursed, with a defective

amiability. And as he loves thoughtlessly, so in reaction is his hatred thoughtless and without measure:—

> "I am *Misanthropos*, and hate mankind.
> For thy part, I do wish thou wert a dog,
> That I might love thee something."

And so, in the end, as much as Apemantus, "he's opposite to humanity."

Timon gives with ease, and will not feel—leaving this only to Flavius—the burden of his gifts. He will take no trouble in the giving: and taking trouble in the giving is of the essence of self-sacrifice and love indeed. If Timon had been of London, and not of Athens, of the nineteenth Christian century, and not of the fifth before Christ, he would never have been written among the vice-presidents of the Charity Organisation Society. He would have had none of the modern doctrine of the evil of indiscriminate almsgiving; for he would have shrunk from its corollary—indeed, for that matter, too many modern theorists cling to the main proposition, and shrink from the corollary—of the positive and proportionally increasing responsibility for the almsgiving that is discriminating, and so willing to take whole worlds of trouble.

And then—with life defective because the very germs of good are not allowed to germinate—it comes to pass that the pessimism of Timon is of that degraded, fruitless order from which there is no rebound through the ministry of other and counter voices; and the voice of his despair, unchecked and single, verges to incoherency in its swell and passion:—

> "O blessed breeding sun, draw from the earth
> Rotten humidity; below thy sister's orb
> Infect the air! Twinn'd brothers of one womb,
> Whose procreation, residence, and birth,
> Scarce is dividant, touch them with several fortunes;
> The greater scorns the lesser: not nature,
> To whom all sores lay siege, can bear great fortune,
> But by contempt of nature.
> Raise me this beggar, and deny 't that lord;
> The senator shall bear contempt hereditary,

> The beggar native honour:
> It is the pasture lards the rother's sides,
> The want that makes him lean."

In the pessimism of Timon there lacks the second voice, the "little whisper silver-clear, a murmur, 'Be of better cheer.'" And so he anchors by one gloomy thought. There comes no time when "the dull and bitter voice was gone." For there is no conflict *in* his soul, but only between the external world of circumstance and the whole soul that is pressed and crushed. And against the gloomy verdicts of the "barren voice" no stronger tones have dared to cry—

> "Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
> No life that breathes with human breath,
> Hath ever truly longed for death.
>
> "'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant:
> Oh life, not death, for which we pant,
> More life, and fuller, that I want."

Or from the "Two Voices," the modern pessimism, brightened by its hidden hope, of our living poet, we may look back to a far earlier pessimism, with its Hebrew wail: "Vanity of vanities," saith the Preacher; "all is vanity!" That pessimism had been wrung from a changeful experience, which, among its variations, had sounded with Timon all the false delights of luxury and splendour; but it knew the inward corrective of the conflicts of conscience, and was led at last to the conclusion of the whole matter which gave new poetry to homely duty: "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man."

Timon is represented then as wanting in that true many-sidedness which has its roots deep-fixed in power of sympathy with nature and with human life, touched not only by the influences of passing joy or grief, but responsive to all expressions of surrounding life, obedient to the true, and rejective of the false. To quote the saying of a great, if not always trusted, thinker, which deserves to be immortal: "If the kingdom of heaven belongs to the poor in spirit, the

kingdom of earth will belong to the rich in heart." * Now Timon was not really rich in heart, and so he failed to find the kingdom of earth. If he had been thus inwardly rich, with the powers of truest sympathy, in his prosperity he would not have wasted his powers of bringing joy to others by the thoughtless, easy, and so selfish lavishment of gifts on those who did not need them; and in his adversity, if then by outward circumstances, and not by inward wrong, it had come upon him, he would have known it easier to

> "Find
> Strength in what remains behind,
> In the primal sympathy
> Which, having been, must ever be,
> In the soothing thoughts that spring
> Out of human suffering."

Let that sympathy be felt, indeed, in the prime, and Timon becomes impossible. And thus is it that the dramatist throws us back to do the work of the novelist for ourselves, and we learn to frame, as it were, an "ideal biography" of the hero of the play; and that biography, with some brighter intimations, yet gives its sad support to the words of one of the greatest of living teachers, spoken by John Ruskin twenty years ago, in the military college of Woolwich;—

"I have no patience with people who talk of 'the thoughtlessness of youth' indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age, and the indulgence due to that. When a man has done his work, and nothing can any way be materially altered in his fate, let him forget his toil, and jest with his fate, if he will; but what excuse can you find for wilfulness of thought at the very time when every crisis of future fortune hangs on your decision? Be thoughtless in any after years rather than now—though, indeed, there is only one place where a man may be nobly thoughtless—his death-bed. No thinking should ever be left to be done there."

T. GASQUOINE.

* Auguste Comte.

*AN ECCLESIASTICAL STORM IN HOLLAND.**

A FEW months ago some of the religious newspapers in England contained the astounding statement that a number of clergymen, elders, and deacons had been expelled from their offices in the Reformed Church of Amsterdam by the "Rationalists" because of their loyalty to the kingship of Jesus.

I shall attempt, in these pages, to give a sketch of the events which have given rise to this grotesque report, and, in so doing, to introduce the readers of the CHRISTIAN REFORMER to the noteworthy ecclesiastical conflict which is now raging in Holland.

The "Reformed Church" of Holland, though not in the technical and exclusive sense an Established or State Church, may nevertheless claim to rank with the national churches of other lands, and enjoys a prestige conferred upon it alike by its historical traditions and its numbers, which can best be conveyed to English readers by describing it as to all intents and purposes the National Church of Holland.

Nevertheless, it has almost no doctrinal tests and prescribes no form of worship. The clergymen, on taking office, are required to sign a declaration which expresses in general terms their desire to work "for the kingdom of God" (to which indeed it is now proposed to add "in the spirit of Jesus") and neither in the regular services, nor in administering the sacrament, baptizing, marrying, or conducting funerals, is

* I have to acknowledge my special obligations to an article by F. W. N Hugenholtz, the pastor of the Dutch community at Grand Rapids, in the United States; and to Prof. Knappert, of Amsterdam, for invaluable written and oral communications on the subject of this paper.

there any prescribed form of words whatever. Not long ago a clergyman, finding the act of prayer inconsistent with his philosophical and religious ideas, resigned his post; but it seems to be more than doubtful whether any steps could have been taken to deprive him of his office had he himself felt justified in retaining it and in conducting services without prayer.

The Reformed Church of Holland, then, though it rejoices in a very elaborate constitution (on the general type of the Calvinistic church governments), is practically without doctrinal tests or discipline of any kind.

Surely, this is a noteworthy phenomenon, which would repay the study of Church Reformers of all shades of opinion, and which at least demonstrates the possibility of an elaborate ecclesiastical organisation without liturgical or doctrinal restrictions.

Unhappily, however, this external union of many schools and parties in one Church has not, as yet, secured any real harmony between them.

The orthodox party has never ceased to protest against the failure of the Church government to "maintain the doctrine" of the Church, and the successive relaxations of the formula of subscription, which began in 1816 and have at last culminated in the Church, as a Church, having no doctrine to maintain, have not been accomplished without strenuous opposition.

The "Moderns," as they are called in Holland, have from the first had more influence in the governing bodies than in the congregations of the Reformed Church, and it is not without some show of reason that their opponents declare the movement of comprehension which they have stimulated to have run counter to the real convictions and wishes of the majority of the members of the Church.

As long as any doctrinal subscriptions remained, the orthodox party sneered at the "Moderns" for first signing

the formulæ and then trying to alter them for conscience sake, and now that the subscriptions are practically abolished many of them declare that though the legal obligation is cancelled the moral and spiritual obligation remains, that the "Moderns" have availed themselves of their influence to legalise their position, at any rate in appearance, but that they can by no possibility moralise it.

Until recently, however, the conflict had not been of an exceptionally bitter or violent character. The leaders on both sides enjoyed, as a rule, a general and well-merited personal respect, and a large body of more or less liberal-minded men, who did not agree with the "Modern" theologians, but were convinced of the futility of attempting to guard the orthodoxy of a church by forms of subscription, frankly accepted the situation and lent their aid to the advocates of comprehension.

Within the last few years, however, the zealots for the purity of the doctrine of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands have found a champion in Dr. Abraham Kuyper, whose appearance upon the stage of Dutch ecclesiastical politics has parted sworn friends and softened the hearts of deadly enemies, and so transformed the whole face of things that the affairs of the Dutch Church have become totally unintelligible to outsiders—witness the reports I have mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Dr. Kuyper is admitted on all hands to be a man of extraordinary capacity and force of character; but, unhappily, the singleness of his motives and the legitimacy of his methods are gravely suspected, even by many of those who agree in the main with his theological tenets. Amongst his followers, however, he is regarded as a divinely-appointed champion of the Church, commissioned to purge her from the corruption of heresy and deliver her from the bondage of a heathen control; and he has succeeded in inspiring them with unbounded confidence in his power to carry through anything

which he undertakes and to extricate himself and them from any dilemma in which they may find themselves.

The task which this man has undertaken is nothing less than completely to restore the Dutch Reformed Church on the footing of the ancient standards of Calvinistic orthodoxy, adopted and supplemented at the great synod of Dort in 1618 and 1619, and to vindicate its absolute ecclesiastical autonomy.

While accepting the existing machinery of the Church as an instrument to work with, wherever he could make himself master of it, he was nevertheless prepared to dispute the legality of the present governing bodies and constitution *in toto*, and to deny that their decrees or regulations were binding upon "the Church." This contention he was prepared to support upon technical grounds; but its true foundation must be sought rather in an appeal to the *testimonium spiritus sancti* in the bosom of the orthodox believer, which declares that no unbeliever can belong to "the Church," and that no human decrees can bind or loose, or can abolish the distinction between sheep and goats by simply battering down the fences of the sheepfolds.

Such high doctines were naturally regarded with suspicion by many persons whose orthodoxy was as undoubted, but whose characters were less heroically revolutionary than Dr. Kuyper's; and as his plans matured this suspicion deepened into more and more active hostility.

In the first place Dr. Kuyper's ban was laid upon the National Universities. Leiden and Groningen were centres of doctrinal corruption; but even Utrecht, which had always been regarded as the citadel of orthodox theology, was pronounced unsound. The Professors—one of them at least (Van Oosterzee), known all over Europe as a forefighter in the orthodox ranks—did not come up to Dr. Kuyper's standard, and were, in some cases, on much too friendly terms with their "modern" opponents. Besides, young men studying

theology in Utrecht were exposed to all the seductions of the infidel teachers who occupied chairs in the scientific, philosophical, and literary faculties. Yet again, the Professorships in the National Universities, being in the gift of the Crown, did not emanate from or represent "the Church," and did not deserve its confidence.

The remedy for all this must be found in the establishment of a "Free University on the basis of the Reformation," which Dr. Kuyper proceeded some years ago to create in Amsterdam, and in which he appointed himself and a few of his followers "Professors."

This was a practical declaration of war upon the Reformed Church as at present constituted, for it is one of its regulations that no one shall be admitted to its ministry unless (amongst other qualifications) he has duly studied theology and passed his examinations at one of the National Universities. Now, it is no more possible in Holland than it is in England for any individual to establish a "University" on his own account, and the "freedom" in which Dr. Kuyper's institution rejoiced simply meant that it was not under State control, and therefore was not a "University" at all.

It will be readily understood that the orthodox Professors in the real Universities, and the great mass of steady-going orthodox members of the Church regarded these steps with anything but sympathy.

The "Free University," however, was established, and a certain (small) number of students enrolled themselves in it, trusting apparently to the omnipotence of their leader to clear away all obstacles from their path.

Meanwhile Dr. Kuyper, though alienating many of those who had been inclined at first to hail him as the deliverer of the Church, was enlarging and strengthening his personal following, especially in Amsterdam and in the outlying villages. The "Church Council" of Amsterdam was com-

pletely devoted to him, and his influence was great enough to enable him to begin the process of doctrinal purgation within the precincts of the capital, and in the surrounding districts. It happened thus. In order to become a full member of the Church, with the right of voting, it is necessary to be "accepted," after certain declarations and passing an examination conducted by a pastor, "assisted" by an elder. Now, whenever any young people of suspected orthodoxy presented themselves and desired to be examined by one of the few "modern" pastors of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, all the elders simply declined to "assist." The Church law, however, provides that members may be admitted into the Church elsewhere than in their own community, provided they receive from their own Church Council a certificate of moral respectability. But the Church Council of Amsterdam refused to give these certificates to any candidates for membership whose orthodoxy was not established, and persisted in their refusal, in spite of requests from the higher courts. As they made no allegations against the moral character of the young people in question, but simply objected to their heterodox opinions, their refusal to give the certificates was decided by the supreme court to be a breach of official duty, and at last they were definitely commanded to furnish the certificates within a given time on pain of suspension.

Dr. Kuyper and his friends never thought of surrender, and the "tyranny" of the higher ecclesiastical courts was the signal for their open revolt against the established authorities. They would guard the purity of the Church at all costs; but they were fully aware of the importance of the "sinews of war," and accordingly determined, if possible, to secure control of the finances. I shall not make any attempt to explain even the main features of the extremely complicated financial history and position of the Reformed Church, but will only say that many of the congregations

(notably that of Amsterdam) possess considerable property of their own, much of it in the funds, and that most of them also receive yearly grants from the Government under a system of concurrent endowment which embraces all the principal denominations. The finances of each congregation are managed by a specially chosen body distinct from the Church Council. Now Dr. Kuyper and his followers, in anticipation of the sentence of suspension, called the "financial committee" together, and explained to them that they, the then existing Church Council, were the persons from whom they had received their trust and to whom they were responsible for fulfilling it, and that no power whatever could transfer their allegiance to any other body. In other words, though the highest tribunal of the Reformed Church should suspend or depose the Church Council of Amsterdam, it would nevertheless remain the rightful representative of the Church and possessor of the Church funds!

In consequence of this resolution, all who had taken part in it were suspended towards the end of 1885, and early in the following year an unseemly conflict took place for the actual possession of the churches and the cash-boxes between the ecclesiastical authorities and the suspended Church Council.

About the same time two of Dr. Kuyper's pupils had been installed as pastors of country congregations, and had entered into possession of the pulpits and, in one case, of the parsonage, though the appointments were altogether informal and, indeed, impossible according to the ecclesiastical law.

By this time the conflict had quite ceased to coincide with any theological or doctrinal differences. Many of Dr. Kuyper's bitterest opponents were to be found amongst men as orthodox as himself; for his revolutionary and high-handed proceedings were simply a declaration of war on the whole existing ecclesiastical order. And, curiously enough, just as many of the orthodox are violently opposed to Dr.

Kuyper's contentions, so many of the "Moderns" seem to regard them with a certain kind of sympathy. Though feeling little respect for the manner in which Dr. Kuyper has conducted his campaign, they, nevertheless, suspect that he is right in his fundamental contention that divergent and opposed theological tendencies cannot, to any good purpose, be sheltered under one ecclesiastical organisation; and that, after all, the ultra-Calvinists may well claim the Church which was built upon the decrees of the Synod of Dort as their own. Peaceful separation and the reconstruction of ecclesiastical institutions on the lines of theological and religious sympathy is their watch-word; and they feel that Dr. Kuyper is in a manner working towards the realisation of their wishes.

Other "Moderns" are grieved to the soul to think that the beautiful ideal of doctrinal comprehension, to which so many churches aspire, when it has been actually attained should not be thought worth the keeping. To them the bond that unites all shades of theological opinion in one church is a very real one; and the recent troubles having in many cases drawn them and their orthodox neighbours more closely together and taught them to value more highly the common ground upon which they stand in the Reformed Church of Holland they are now less than ever inclined to give up the ideal of one great national church; and it is their earnest prayer that the present crisis may pass by without anything approaching to a general disruption.

Meanwhile the conflict drags on. As to the funds, legal proceedings are pending. The Synod of the Reformed Church has responded to Dr. Kuyper's defiance by definitely deposing five preachers and seventy elders and deacons from their posts, and declaring them disqualified, for an indefinite period, from holding office or exercising the rights of membership in the Reformed Church. This was towards the end of last year. Dr. Kuyper on his side responded by

declaring that the present Reformed Church exists upon a wholly illegal basis, that the local congregations alone have any legal existence, that they are legally entitled to the uncontrolled command of their funds, and that no classical, provincial, or synodical decrees have any claim to their obedience.

Early in this year Dr. Kuyper called a great gathering of his adherents together in Amsterdam to concert measures, and, in fact, to constitute themselves the legitimate Reformed Church, in opposition to and defiance of the usurpers.

What will be the end no one seems disposed to prophesy. Dr. Kuyper's legal position is apparently weak, but whether an adverse decision in the courts of law would materially weaken his movement is not clear. At present it is formidable rather from its zeal than from its numbers.

Where the sympathies of our friends in Holland are so curiously divided, it is hardly likely that we in England should be able to see our way very clearly; but I hope, at least, that I may have put my readers on their guard against giving a too hasty credence to any such statements as that the "Rationalists" have deposed orthodox preachers and deacons on the ground of their loyalty to the Kingship of Christ.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

MARCH.

9, 10.—Annual Meeting of the Lancashire Congregational Union at Rochdale. The Rev. Jas. Wayman, who presided, referring to the saying of Mr. Frederick Harrison, that "the knell had been struck of heaven and hell," said :—

"That there would be newer and truer interpretations of heaven and hell, and that they would play a far nobler part than they had done in the teachings of the future. There was no need of a new Gospel. What was wanted was a fuller proclamation of what they already had. No fresh truth could be added to the old Gospel, but they could hold up the old truths in fresh lights suited to the new age."

11.—A meeting to consider the question of Disestablishment in Wales at the Holborn Town Hall. Resolutions were carried :—

"That this Conference of Welshmen residing in the metropolis expresses its great gratification at the progress of public opinion in favour of perfect religious equality in the Principality of Wales ; and it pledges itself to carry on the agitation with the vigour necessary to ensure early and complete success."

"That this Conference approves of the efforts of the Liberation Society to inform English electors in reference to the demand for the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales ; and it expresses its readiness to sustain those efforts by such pecuniary and other sacrifices as the circumstances may require."

"That the Welshmen of London attending this meeting express their profound sympathy with their fellow-countrymen who are seeking to promote the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, and they believe that the time has come when the subject should be vigorously pressed upon the electors in the United Kingdom, as well as upon the attention of Parliament, with a view to an early and satisfactory settlement."

13.—Prebendary Tucker, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, delivered, at St. Stephen's, South Kensington, an address on "The Church's Expansion Abroad," in which he said :—

"The story of our colonisation these last hundred years is one to make the angels weep, and Christians hide their heads for shame. We have introduced among barbarous nations, whose lands we have seized, vices to which before they were strangers, and diseases from which their forefathers were free : slavery was abolished by law in 1834, but in fact, if not in name, it exists and has been created anew in many parts of the world. We have driven the native races from their hunting-grounds, their rivers, their lands, which under their tribal laws were held by a tenure as intelligible as any which a Court of Equity has created for ourselves ; still, with vitality which was grudged to them, they have stood in the way of the greed of settlers bent on possessing their land, and, in the train of what we dare to call the superior race, fire-water, disease, slavery, poison, and cruelty have followed closely. Horrible upon nearly every square mile of our foreign possessions have been the feet of those who brought only the curse and blight of our civilisation !"

23.—Annual Meeting of the Incorporated Free and Open Church Association. The Council, referring to the special arrangements made in some of the London churches recently for Socialists, expressed the

opinion that while no one who behaved in an orderly manner should be excluded from church, it was undesirable to reserve places for such bodies. The Council, however, rejoiced in the proof afforded by the resignation of their seats on the part of regular seat-holders, that the pew system was losing its hold. Had the masses never been pressed out of religious equality, they would not now be desirous to enter simply as a mark of political equality. *Earl Nelson*, who presided, expressed his satisfaction that the attempt of the Archbishop of York to compel the churchwardens of St. Mary's, Beverley, to seat people "according to their degree" had, so far, failed.

30.—Annual Meeting of the London District Unitarian Society. The Committee in their report state that:—

"Exception has occasionally been taken to the fact that the work of the society is in great measure confined to one class of the community, the mission stations having been so often planted in purely working-class neighbourhoods. Hence the slow progress towards the attainment of congregational independence. The project that has just been sketched out for Bermondsey will, however, your committee hope, prove an exception in this respect, if only the support received in response to the appeal for subscriptions but warrants them in erecting a building suited for a really large congregation. Your committee consider also that in the near future openings will be found in several of the suburbs of London for congregations consisting largely of a middle-class element. Such congregations, when formed, would become much more rapidly independent of assistance from the society, which is a sign of vitality to be always strongly encouraged. Of this type of congregation Wandsworth and Highgate may be referred to, and good openings for such may soon be found at Acton, where Sunday services are being now regularly held in a temporary room; in the Norwood district, where a series of controversial lectures has just been delivered by Unitarian ministers of South London; and, later on, at Lewisham and Richmond.

"In conclusion, your committee wish to express the satisfaction they feel at the increasing spirit of inquiry exhibited, often in unexpected directions, bearing testimony to the great upheaval in religious beliefs which is so characteristic a feature of the present decade. Stress is much less frequently laid on the rigid acceptance of the prominent dogmas of orthodoxy, and members of denominations the most differing in their religious views are now habitually banded together, united in the pursuit of public or social objects simply by the bond of one common Christian spirit. There are those, indeed, who deem the mission of Unitarians ended because of the advancing liberalism of the age. Many agencies, no doubt, are at work in the same general direction, all contending for the future of religious liberty; and even if Unitarians stood by inactive, the object at heart might still be providentially sure. But the fact of our opportunities and encouragements, being now greater than ever before, should stimulate all to renewed endeavour, for to-day we find audience and welcome as never before. In the breaking up of old traditions there has come into existence a condition of general earnest questioning, and it behoves those who can do so to affirm clearly that spiritual despotism, bigotry, and superstition can all be put aside, at the same time that the essential elements of pure religion remain intact."

31.—A meeting was held at Prince's-hall, Piccadilly, to consider the subject of "the drink traffic and the demoralisation of native races." The Bishop of London, who presided, said they had to consider how they could regulate the intercourse between civilised and uncivilised races, so that they might stop the mischief which it was doing and retain the good. We professed to be bearing blessings over the world, but we

were everywhere accompanied by a curse which was more than enough to counteract those blessings. There were parts of the world to which our countrymen, returning from them, declared that it was better to carry Mahomedanism than Christianity, because Mahomedanism was temperate and Christianity was not. The following resolutions were carried :—

"That the traffic in strong drink as now carried on by the merchants belonging to Christian nations in India, Africa, and in most of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire has become the source of wholesale demoralisation and ruin to the native races, and is proving a fatal stumbling-block to the progress of the Gospel among them."

"That, in the interests of Christianity and humanity, the facts bearing on the traffic and its results should be made more generally known to the people of England and other countries, with a view to the formation of a sound public opinion and eventually to the passing of legislative enactments for the repression of such traffic."

At the Annual Meeting of the Cheshire Congregational Union held this month at Cheadle, the Rev. Alexander Mackennal, of Bowdon, who is Chairman of the Congregational Union for this year, in the course of his address said :—

"We declare that the Church of Christ is not the clergy, but the people; let us encourage all our people, as kings, to rule with Christ, in the power of tenderness and the authority of truth; as priests, to make intercession for one another and for the ungodly. We are for the spiritual equality of all believers; let us make our churches households of faith, and not class institutions. . . . There is another somewhat ignoble anxiety to which Congregationalists are exposed—the fear, namely, of losing their freedom if they enter into co-operation. When I see strong men, men by no means destitute of the power of self-assertion, opposing themselves to schemes of united church action for the good of the nation, because in that way their liberties will be encroached on, I confess it seems to me somewhat grotesque. . . . We have no Church courts, nor any central authorities; we have only representative councils composed of men who, as they are generally the strongest among us, are also the most independent. Don't let us think so meanly of ourselves as to suppose that, in such a council, we cannot preserve our freedom. If the watchfulness on behalf of the Churches that hinders our co-operation were only used in co-operation—used constructively instead of obstructively—our fears would vanish in the inspiring sense of free action for the common good, and we should learn that the very place for an independent-spirited man is where he can most fully work with others. . . . We have but to bear in mind two principles—one fundamental, the other practical: The first, the fundamental principle, is this—that as no confederation of churches will be itself a Church, every particular Church must at once guard its own independency and respect the independency of the confederation. Some of the Separatists were careful to point out that as the Church is not the nation, so neither must the nation rule the Church nor the Church the nation; as the idea of the Church differs from the idea of the family, a Church must neither be ruled by nor assert authority over a family. In like manner, I say of our County Unions—no Church can allow the interference of the Union in Church matters; neither must any Church attempt to limit the authority and responsibility of the Union in Union matters. We call our Unions unions of churches; in reality, they are independent societies of representatives of the Churches, and as they are responsible for the work which they are appointed to do they must be free to do it. The same principle holds good of any confederation there may be of Unions; responsibility for its own work and freedom to do it is essential to such a confederation. . . What means this apparent contrast between the development of the Congregational Union and that of the Church-Aid Society? That the last generation of Independents were sturdier guardians of the rights of the churches than we? Assuredly not. It means that the Con-

gregational Union was constituted for defence and demonstration of principles, the Church-Aid Society for practical work; and in practical work jealousies disappear, impracticabilities are overcome. I do not suppose we shall always have two representative confederations of the Churches; but I am not in a hurry to merge the two into one. If I were asked which of the two will absorb the other, I should say—despite the vigorous life of the Congregational Union, and the hitherto feeble efforts to grow and spread of the Church-Aid Society—this Society is destined to absorb that. And I say so because it exists for work; and in the long run a working must surpass in power a demonstrating union; practical efficiency is the highest form of demonstration."

APRIL.

5.—Annual Meeting of the London Congregational Union. It appears from the report that the total income last year was £6,900 1s. 3d., in addition to £5,032 3s. raised for the "Outcast London" Fund.

The chairman, the Rev. W. Roberts, in an address on "The Congregational Churches of London in Relation to the Working Classes," said:—

"I venture to think we are too rigid in our order of service. We are not limited by any Acts of Uniformity, yet our modes of worship are much of one pattern. We have the great advantages of freedom; but in practice we seem to adopt a ritual. Whilst we should be careful to maintain order and decorum in the worship of God, it is surely most desirable that some liberty should be exercised in the conduct of service. . . . Still further, if we are to make any impression upon the non-church-going multitude, our evening services should, I think, be specially adapted to them. I rejoice to know that many churches have opened their doors wider, and by monthly lectures to working men and by other means have been exerting a power for good in their respective neighbourhoods, but the attempts to reach those classes have not been general. Is not the key of the whole position to be found in the simple methods adopted at Special Services for the People? Let us place the evening service at the disposal of the people. . . . What if from next Sunday evening all the churches and chapels of London were open to all comers? What if all comers were certain of a cordial welcome? What if the brightest services and the best preaching were provided? One thing, at least, might be predicted as the result—no more half-filled churches."

The Independents and Baptists are making vigorous protests against the Coercion Bill. A resolution against it was passed by the London Congregational Union. The Congregational ministers of Manchester have taken the opportunity afforded by the meeting of the Union to unite in expressing "the shame and indignation with which we view the coercive Irish policy of the Government"; this protest was signed by 102 ministers. A protest of Nonconformist ministers of England and Wales, in which it is declared that such exceptional legislation is "contrary to sound principle and fatal to the maintenance of the Union itself," has received, in a few days, more than 3,700 signatures. At a conference of ministers of the Congregational churches in Flintshire, held at Rhyl, April 6, a resolution was carried unanimously expressing "indignation at the miserable coercive policy of the Government." At the spring meetings of the Southern Conference of the General Baptist Churches at Ealing, on Tuesday, a resolution was passed condemning Coercion, and implying approval of Home Rule. At the annual meeting of the general body of the "Three Denominations" in the Memorial Hall, on April 12, two resolutions were agreed to, the first against Coercion, the second in support of Home Rule.

The Christian Reformer.

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PHASES OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

III.—The New Prophecy.

THE second century of our era was a period of incessant struggle for the growing Church. It had to meet political and social opposition without; it had to encounter intellectual and moral dangers within. Its increasing influence evoked a corresponding resistance to its claims. The civil government found itself again and again compelled to deal with men who would not offer incense to the genius of Rome in the person of the Emperor, or by the most trifling sacrifice recognise the state gods. An ignorant and superstitious populace laid famine and earthquake and pestilence to the charge of the so-called 'atheists,' and rumour ran that their secret meetings were defiled with the most hateful crimes. Philosophy was not behind with its indictment; the pretensions of Jesus had resulted in such disastrous failure that all might see their emptiness; and the whole scheme of Jewish and Christian revelation worked out in a particular race and country was inconsistent with the universality of the Providence which ruled the world. The external forces of society, therefore, were arrayed against the new teaching. But with steadfast persistence it still spread. It endeavoured to disarm the suspicions of magistracy by lives which no calumny could bring into a criminal court. It calmed the

passions of the mob by deeds of gentleness and charity. It boldly entered the lists with philosophy, and showed that it possessed a higher wisdom than the schools.

Meanwhile, its internal forces were at work. On the one hand was a large and eager speculative activity, which sought in various ways to harmonise the Christian teaching with conceptions of God and the world altogether unlike those which passed through the Hebrew Scriptures into the Church. On the other hand was a growing organisation tending towards uniformity of faith and doctrine, of administration and discipline. It was the period when the presidents or 'chairmen' of the bodies of elders, to which belonged the management of congregational affairs, began to rise above their brethren, with special duties and prerogatives. Out of the little committees of 'presbyters' one of their number emerges with the title which had formerly belonged to all the elders charged with administrative functions—viz., the 'bishop.' Around his office gathers a peculiar authority. He stands in the succession of apostles; he is the guardian of the faith; the sacred teaching is transmitted through him; it is his special business to maintain it incorrupt. The mode in which this claim arose, the real meaning of the doctrine of 'apostolical succession' as it was formulated at the close of the second century, the significance of the organisation of the episcopate, and the formation of a Catholic Church,—all this I propose to sketch in a succeeding paper. But this movement was met, almost at its outset, by another which threatened (if successful) to do away with it altogether. The system of episcopal government, the reservation of certain church functions to bishops and elders, implied a restriction on the spiritual activity of the ordinary believers. Was it, however, so clear that the gifts of the spirit belonged exclusively to an official caste? In the first days Paul had placed 'governments' low down in his list, beneath apostles, prophets, and teachers; might not the

spirit still show that it was alive and vigorous, and the elements of freedom and impulse find a free field without the trammels of administrative rule?

The answer to these questions was supplied by the remarkable movement which was early designated 'the new prophecy.' It was essentially a protest against the imposition of a rigid ecclesiastical system. But it was also a protest against another tendency which inevitably accompanied this process. The Christian Church had lost somewhat of its first enthusiasm. That austere ideal of unworldliness which glows in the apostolic writings had been moderated. The champions of the Gospel could still point their opponents to the uprightness and purity which marked the true disciple, and were the real credentials of the faith which he professed. Compared with the brutality and lust around them, the churches might seem to be the homes of innocence and love. But those who dwelt within them were conscious of a decline which those outside could never see. There was a loss of earnestness; men began to make terms with sin; and the severity of primitive discipline called for relaxation. Even the New Testament itself bore witness to the existence of great disorder in the churches: so far from abating, as the ardour of first hope faded away, this danger threatened to increase. The first believers lived in the constant expectation of their Lord's return in clouds of glory. They listened with strained ears for the trumpet blast which should give the signal for the dead to rise and meet him. They gazed into the infinite azure to catch the first glimpse of the angel host which should form his retinue, or of the jewelled walls of the wondrous city which should be their future home. But as the light of the second Advent faded out of the sky, the life which had to be spent on earth, cut off from its heavenly sequel, seemed a more common thing. The Church had to take its place among the permanent institutions of society, and arrange its demands accordingly. If it could

count its martyrs, it had also its tale of apostates. There were those who died for the sacred name, but there were those who blasphemed it. There were many steadfast, but many also wavered. Instead of apostolic poverty the rich hugged their wealth, and were unwilling to part with it for the servants of God.* They were not, however, unwilling to part with it (for their own safety) to the officers of the civil magistrate. Whole churches, says Tertullian, bitterly, bought themselves off *en masse* in times of persecution by unstinted bribes. And with shameless greed deacons were known to plunder the widows and orphans whom they should have relieved, and turn their 'ministry' into a source of personal gain. Under such circumstances, the return of the Master, which would wind up abruptly all secular affairs, was no longer an object of desire. They did not, indeed, cease to repeat the words, 'thy kingdom come,' but it was with the understanding that it should not come too soon. It was one of the charges often brought against the Christians that their doctrine of the approaching end of the world made them hostile to the interests of the empire. Enemies of the state, indeed, cries Tertullian, indignantly, 'why, we pray for the delay of the final consummation.'

'The new prophecy,' accordingly, is marked by these three notes, an attempt to supersede the Church organisation under the influence of the spirit, a revival of expectation concerning the immediateness of the second Advent, and a heightened demand for personal purity.

I.

The movement which its supporters called 'the new prophecy' created no small stir in the Church towards the end of the second century. It was the theme of debate at innumerable episcopal meetings, and it generated a considerable

* This decline is delineated in the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, *Sim.* ix., where various stones of the great tower of the Church are cast out as unfit.

literature of attack and defence. Of these works, however, but little now remains. The controversial treatises have perished, and only a few passages embedded in the pages of the historian Eusebius supply us with any contemporary information. The earliest of these narratives (from an unknown author) runs thus*:—

'A very considerable time ago, beloved Avircius Marcellus, I was enjoined by you to write a work against the heresy named after Miltiades. † But until the present time I have been checked, not by inability to confute the falsehood and bear witness to the truth, but by the fear that I might seem to some to write or enjoin anything in addition to the word of the Gospel of the new Covenant, to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be taken away, by one who has resolved to live according to the Gospel itself.

'Having, however, lately been at Ancyra in Galatia and finding that the church in this place was being deafened by this new prophecy, as its friends call it, though (as I shall show) it ought rather to be designated false prophecy, I discoursed for several days in the church to the best of my ability, with the help of the Lord, both about this and other subjects. In this way the church was gladdened and strengthened for the truth, but the adversaries were beaten off, and the opponents grieved. When the presbyters of the place, therefore, asked me, in the presence also of my fellow-presbyter Zoticus of Otronus, to leave behind some memorial of my arguments, I promised (as I could not do it at the time) to write to them as soon as I could, if the Lord permitted.

'The rise of these people, and this fresh rent in the church came from the following cause. There is said to be a certain village of Mysia adjoining Phrygia, called Ardabav. Here, one of the recent converts, Montanus by name, during the proconsulate of Gratus in Asia, through his boundless ambition gave the adversary occasion against him. He was carried away in spirit, and suddenly became rapt in inspiration and ecstasy. He began to speak and utter strange sounds, prophesying in a manner contrary to the usage transmitted in succession by the church from the beginning. Some of those who heard these bastard utterances, regarded him as possessed by a spirit of error; distressed that he should disturb the people, they rebuked him and forbade him to speak, mindful of the Lord's

* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 16; some passages and expressions are here curtailed.

† This name appears to be corrupt.

warning that they should guard watchfully against the coming of the false prophets. But others were elated as if with holy spirit and a prophetic gift. They were not a little puffed up, and, forgetful of the Lord's distinction, they challenged this insidious spirit, and being flattered and misled by him, they no longer compelled him to keep silence. The devil excited two others also, and filled them with a spurious spirit so that they spoke in frenzy and unseasonably and in strange fashion. And some rejoiced and boasted of it, as the spirit blessed them, and puffed them up with the greatness of his promises. The few who were deceived were Phrygians. And they were taught by the same spirit to revile the Catholic Church, because the false prophetic spirit received neither honour from it, nor entrance into it. For when the faithful throughout Asia had come together on numerous occasions and in various places about the matter, and examined the new teachings and declared them profane, and rejected the sect, they were thrust out of the church, and deprived of communion.'

The scene of these events lay in the remoter regions of Asia Minor. The new prophecy sprang up among the simple village folk of the hills, whose superstition was untempered by the learning and philosophy of the cities in which Christianity had chiefly found its hearing. The Phrygians loved the excitements of religion; they were accustomed to the excesses of the priests of Cybelê, and it is possible that Montanus had himself belonged formerly to this order. At any rate, his enthusiasm was ready to break into kindling flame. The date of his first movement is matter of some uncertainty, but recent researches tend to place it about the year 172 A.D.* Its most obvious outward mark was a revival of the ecstatic utterance characteristic of the lower forms of New Testament prophecy. But this speech was by no means always unintelligible. The prophet's soul lay still as the spirit overshadowed it; the human personality was silent that the Divine Voice might be heard. 'Behold,' so ran one of the oracles of Montanus in the name of the Lord—

* See Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, p. 590; and Völter, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. für Wissensch. Theolog.*, 1883, pp. 23 sqq.

'Behold the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him like a plectrum. The man sleeps, and I wake. Behold, it is the Lord who entrances the hearts of men, and gives men hearts.' So other strange expressions, which have come down to us through hostile writers nearly two hundred years later, indicate the same confident belief in the immediate presence and agency of God. 'I am the Lord,' he is reported to have said, in complete submission of his soul to the indwelling power, 'the Lord God, the Almighty, who dwell in man; I am neither angel nor messenger, I am come as the Lord himself.' The two women who prophesied under him, Prisca and Maximilla, uttered language of the same kind. 'I am chased like a wolf from the flock,' cried Maximilla; 'I am no wolf, I am word and spirit and power.' This conviction of the direct instrumentality of the heavenly influence seized hold of the doctrine of the 'Paraclete,' or 'Comforter,' which had been promised by Jesus to his followers, according to the Fourth Gospel. The lofty calm which pervades this version of the Master's teachings is at the furthest possible remove from the excited violence of Montanus and his prophetesses. But the conception served to express one of the chief elements of thought in the new prophecy, that the action of God on the heart of man does not depend on any hierarchical official; it passes straight from soul to soul.

The impulse of prophetic fervour was not confined to the village of Ardabav, where it began. As with other revivalistic movements, it possessed a contagious earnestness. It made its centre, indeed, at two little Phrygian hamlets called Pepuza and Tymium, which Montanus was alleged to have selected as the locality of the New Jerusalem. It organised a staff of preachers, whose regular salaries seem to have given offence to those who were accustomed to see Church officers supported out of voluntary gifts, or who even demanded that prophets should prove their sincerity by foregoing all pay.

It is possible that unworthy agents may sometimes have found their way into the little band; they dyed their hair, said some; they gambled, they lent out money for interest, added others; nay, they had been thieves or worse. But in spite of charges like these, hurled without scruple at the rank and file of the new movement, its main ideas took a deep hold of many minds. They passed into Egypt, where Clement of Alexandria meditated a treatise in refutation. They found more congenial shelter among the warmer hearts of Carthage, and the fiery eloquence of Tertullian, the most original of the minds of his age, received an added ardour from their kindling inspiration. They awakened interest in Rome, where the bishop for the time being actually acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, and bestowed his 'peace' on the churches of Phrygia;* and they found sympathy in Southern Gaul.

Still, the East was the chief scene of the conflict. Visitors came from long distances to see the phenomena. Some of the bolder of them endeavoured to examine the possessed, to persuade and restrain, or in the last resort actually to exorcise and expel the evil spirit. But it was in vain; their reasonings were fruitless, for the prophet's adherents 'bridled their tongues.' When the blessed Sotas, who had journeyed all the way from Anchialus in Thrace, wished to cast out the demon from Priscilla, 'the hypocrites,' complains the Bishop of Debeltus (an adjoining town on the Black Sea), 'would not suffer him.' Meetings were held, and the new prophecy was condemned. Books were written against it, but it still flourished. Its visions were denounced as false; they did not cease to be believed. 'Which of these praters is there who has suffered persecution?' cried the orthodox; 'not one.' But this allegation was soon dropped; and when the followers of Montanus pointed to

* He was, however, induced to recall the letters he had already despatched granting communion to them.

their lists of martyrs, they were coldly told that the other misbelievers could do the same. The Marcionites could reckon up their confessors; they might spare themselves the trouble; they did not confess Christian truth. So the believers in episcopacy and tradition, whom we may in brief call Catholics, kept rigidly aloof from the believers in the dispensation of the Paraclete; if they were in the same prison, they would have no communion with them; they would not spoil the triumph of their testimony by sharing in the sectaries' martyrdom.

Montanus died, though the new Jerusalem had not appeared. Gossip asserted that he had hung himself. Maximilla died, likewise, in her turn; and rumour would have it that she had come to the same end. 'After me,' she had said, 'there shall be no other prophetess, but the end of the world.' The final consummation, however, still delayed. Theodotus, a leading disciple, a 'sort of steward of their so-called prophecy,' died too. He was being lifted up towards heaven in an ecstasy, when the spirit tossed him up in the air like a quoit, and so *he* miserably perished. Such were the tales that were current shortly after the leaders of the movement had disappeared: the author who so maliciously relates them does not deprive them of their sting by his final remark, 'we cannot, however, be said to *know* anything of such matters, as we did not see them.'

The promoters of the revival passed away, but their principles remained. The Phrygian sectaries held their ground for more than two hundred years. It may be well to ask what were the inner forces whch secured for their doctrines so firm a hold.

II.

The new prophecy, in the first place, denied no ancient truth. It accepted heartily the Church's rule of faith: it had the same God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same

baptismal sacrament. Compared with the various forms of Gnosticism and other heresies, it was perfectly orthodox. But though it admitted that the law of the faith remained immovably the same, it could not believe that the living action of the Spirit had ceased. The devil, at any rate, was constantly at work, observed Tertullian; *he* was daily adding to the devices of iniquity; how could the work of God have been arrested, and debarred from further march? In administration and conduct there must be progress and advance. What else was the meaning of the mission of the Paraclete? Poor human mediocrity could not take all things in at once, only by degrees could discipline be carried forward to perfection; and the great agent was the Lord's successor and representative, the Holy Spirit. 'I have many things to say unto you,' said Jesus, 'but ye are not yet able to bear them; when that spirit of truth shall have come, he shall lead you into all truth.' So the Paraclete's administrative work consisted in the direction of discipline, the unfolding of the significance of Scripture, the renewal of the mind, and movement forward to the 'better things.' Nothing was without stages of growth; all things awaited their season. There were many steps between the seed, the flower, and the fruit; and so, too, righteousness had its rudimentary stage in the natural fear of God; it passed through the Law and the Prophets to infancy; in the Gospel it reached the fervour of its youth; now through the Paraclete, concluded Tertullian triumphantly, it was settling into maturity.* Is it possible to state more clearly a doctrine of religious development? It was a doctrine which the Catholic Church learned afterwards to employ with the utmost skill. But it was not yet ready; and in the meantime the fasts practised by the believers in the Spirit were denounced as novelties. There were solemnities appointed by the Scriptures and the tradition of the elders; no

* Tert. *De Virg. Veland.* 1.

fresh observance must be added, for innovation was unlawful. It was with a noble breadth of view that Tertullian replied, 'Our Lord Christ has surnamed himself Truth, not Custom; they who have received him set Truth before Custom.'*

The fundamental principle of the new prophecy, therefore, really was the continuity of God's spiritual action. It was weakness and despondency of faith, said the Montanistic narrator of the 'passion of Perpetua and Felicitas,' to suppose that the Divine grace abode only among the ancients. The accepted manifestations of grace were visions, dreams, revelations, as Joel had taught of old; and when these were vouchsafed again to the churches, who would fail to recognise the agency of the spirit, 'administering all gifts in all'? It was a safe principle that 'God always carried into effect what he had promised, for a testimony to unbelievers, to believers for a benefit.' And the witness of the holy dead who had just made their confession was of no less value, therefore, than the venerable testimony of antiquity. From the first days to the last the power of the spirit was one.

In the light of this great idea the Church seemed to divide itself into those who accepted the doctrine of development by the progressive operation of the spirit, and those who adhered to the written word and the prescriptions which had grown up around it. The language of Paul was immediately applied to the distinction; on the one side were the 'pneumatics,' the 'spirituals,' the men of the spirit; and on the other were the 'psychics,' the carnals. And this principle attached itself at once to the existing Church organisation. The sacred tradition on which the 'psychics' relied was in the hands of the bishops. They were its depositaries and guardians. Whatever claimed to supersede the tradition tended also to supersede them. The growing forces of the hierarchy thus encountered an immediate check. What need was there of officers of human choice? The spirit could

* Tert., *De Jejun.*, 13.

select its own organs; it blew where it would. The true Church, accordingly, did not consist in the number of the bishops; it was the congregation of spiritual men. It depended on no consecrated order; it was found where only two or three were gathered together. They might be laymen; but they might baptize, or offer the holy gifts of the Thanksgiving, if the spirit was with them. Nay, why should these functions be limited even to lay*men?* The spirit fell upon women, and they prophesied; why should not they, likewise, employ the sacrament of water, and celebrate the Eucharist? It might have been thought that a still bolder logic would ask what was the need of baptism at all. This question, however, does not seem to have been put; Scripture and tradition combined to support the ordinance; the new prophecy only sought to give it as large a range as possible. So, in the middle of the third century, the Catholic Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia describes the ministry of a woman in his province some time before. He is writing to Cyprian, the great Bishop of Carthage:—*

'About two and twenty years ago, there were many commotions and great distress in this part of the world. In Cappadocia and in Pontus several cities were entirely destroyed, the earth gaping and swallowing them up in the depths beneath. And this was the cause of a grievous persecution against us of the Christian name. Whilst the faithful were fleeing hither and thither for fear of the persecution, and were migrating to other parts, for this was possible as the persecution was a local one, suddenly their arose a certain woman, who, being in ecstasy, proclaimed herself to be a prophetess, and acted as though she were filled with the holy spirit. She was in reality actuated by very powerful demons, so that for a long space of time she excited and deceived the brotherhood, performing several wonderful and miraculous things, and promising that she would make the earth quake. Not that the power of the demon reaches to such an extent as to be able of himself to produce an earthquake, but because the evil spirit sometimes foresees that there will be one, and pretends that he is going to do what he sees will take place. He also enabled

* The letter is included in Cyprian's correspondence, ep. lxxiv. As before, I have condensed the story.

that woman in a severe winter to walk with bare feet over rough snow, without being in any way injured. She said that she was hastening to Judea and Jerusalem, pretending that it was from thence she came. . . . . Amongst other practices by which she had led very many astray, she had even ventured upon this . . . she pretended to sanctify bread and celebrate the Eucharist and offered sacrifice to the Lord, not without the sacrament of the customary preaching, and also baptized multitudes, employing the usual and legitimate words of interrogation that nothing might seem to vary from the rule of the Church."

Evidently the good Firmilian did not understand these obstinate sectaries. The prophetess had been deeply moved by the distresses of her time: earthquakes and persecutions were the signs of the last days. She started from Pepuza, which Montanus had called his Jerusalem, and heedless of the winter cold she walked barefooted over the mountain snows, to bring comfort to the terror-stricken Christians in the midst of danger and death. She would lead them, if she could, away with her, back to the spot where the holy city, on some day not far off, would take its place.

The Pepuzians, as they were sometimes called, grasped to the full the significance of Scripture doctrine. They were grateful to Eve, said Epiphanius in the fourth century, because she first ate of the tree of knowledge. They found a precedent for the admission of women among their clergy in Miriam, the prophetess of the Old Testament, and Philip's four daughters in the New. So they had female bishops and female presbyters, and dared to say that there was no natural or essential distinction; all differences were done away in Jesus; in Christ there was neither male nor female. Souls had no sex: the spirit was all in all.

III.

The doctrine of successive dispensations, or stages in the religious history of humanity, allied itself closely with the belief in the swift approach of the last days. The fulfilment of the promise of the Paraclete was but another step towards

the great goal of the Church's work, viz., the second coming of the Lord. This had always been the theme of prophetic hope. The early book in which it found its chief expression — the Apocalypse — avowed itself the production of a prophet. And the visions of Hermas, which share this character, are marked by the same expectation. It is not, indeed, particularly vivid; it lies somewhat in the background; but it still is there. The tower (which symbolises the Church) will be finished; what will happen then to the men who have not found a place as living stones in its sacred fabric? They will be rejected. Let them not delay, therefore, to do good works, lest the building be completed, and they be left outside. (*Simil.* x. 4.)

The New Prophecy took up this idea, and infused into it a fiery vehemence. It predicted wars and tumults, confusion and disaster, but beyond that lay the object of all desire, the reign of Christ and the 'glory of the saints. 'After me,' cried Maximilla, 'comes the end of the world.' There might be in these announcements a certain fierce hatred of the world and its unholy ways; but this, on the other hand, bore men in triumph through suffering and death. The moral order of the world seemed to need some such adjustment; doom to the persecutor, joy to the afflicted, were the fitting close to violence and pain. So plainly did the heavenly city frame itself before the insight of the heart, that it seemed actually to take shape before the eye; and even the unbeliever, looking out at dawn over the hills of Palestine, beheld its battlements in the azure air.

'We believe,' writes Tertullian, 'that a kingdom has been promised to us on earth, after the resurrection, for a thousand years; it will be in a city of divine workmanship, the Jerusalem that is let down from heaven, which the Apostle also calls our mother above. And the word of the New Prophecy testifies of it, predicting that an image of it would be seen for a sign before its actual manifestation. And this was recently fulfilled in an expedition to the East. For it is certain, on the evidence of heathen witnesses also, that in Judea

a city was suspended from the sky early in the morning for forty days. All the fashion of its walls faded as the day wore on, and sometimes it would vanish in a moment. This city, we say, has been provided by God to receive the saints on their resurrection, and refresh them with abundance of truly spiritual blessings, in recompense for those which in the world we have either despised or lost. For it is just and worthy of God that his servants should rejoice where they have also suffered affliction for his name.' *

The connection of hopes such as these with the Apocalypse is obvious. It is true that the opponents of the New Prophecy quoted it likewise on their side. But it is not without significance that those who rejected the Phrygian claims were ready also to reject the apostolic authorship of the Book of Revelation. When Caius engaged in public debate at Rome with the Montanist leader Proclus, early in the third century, he seems to have made this one of the strong points of his case. The doctrine of the millennial reign of Christ in an earthly kingdom had no apostolic sanction: it was a fiction of the heretic Cerinthus.

IV.

The outburst of faith in the speedy coming of the Lord has always had one very natural consequence. Those who share the expectation must make ready for the event. The end of the world must not find them slothful and slack. The tension of hope heightens all moral effort; the impulses which have slumbered are roused; the will which has been relaxed grows firm; new demands are fulfilled with alacrity; and at all costs life must be kept pure. The Paraclete is by nature a *holy* spirit. Those who have received him can make no terms with the world. Sentence hangs over it already; they must flee from it if they would not share its fate. So its enjoyments must be exchanged for an austere earnestness; its natural relationships must be treated with the strictest restraint; the spirit must win the fullest mastery over the

* *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 24.

flesh. The stress of the Paraclete's work is said, therefore, to lie rather in the institution of new discipline than in the revelation of new truth. The ascetic tendencies which had existed even in Judaism, and had marked the early Church, revived with a fresh force. The followers of Montanus fasted with a longer abstinence. Those "days of stations" through whose earlier hours the Christian warrior stood on guard, the adherents of the New Prophecy observed till evening. They drank no wine, they would not touch the juicier fruits, eating their food dry. Among the martyrs who perished at Lyons, in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, there are many traces of sympathy with the Montanist principles of their brethren in Asia. Alcibiades will not eat of the food provided by the friends of the confessors outside; he is used to privation, he will take only bread and water. But it is revealed to one of his comrades that he did not well to make light of God's gifts, and cause offence to others: so he obediently eats and gives God thanks. 'For they were not without the overseeing of divine grace,' says the famous letter which describes their trials, 'but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor.'

The same principle led to the prohibition of second marriage, and to the exaltation of virginity. And when the Bishop of Rome issued a declaration granting readmission to the Church on certain conditions to those who had been guilty of adultery, Tertullian warned him indignantly that the next step would be to condone idolatry and even murder.

The peculiar demands of the morality of the New Prophecy are perhaps best exhibited in the following beatitudes ascribed to the Apostle Paul in the Acts of Paul and Thekla*; where the connection between the discipline of the flesh now and the holiness of the risen life is emphasized.

'And when Paul had gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was

* *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 42.

great joy and bending of knees and breaking of bread, and the word of God about self-control and resurrection; Paul speaking thus:

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

"Blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God.

"Blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them.

"Blessed are they that have withdrawn from this world, for they shall be called the upright.

"Blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God as their portion.

"Blessed are they that have fear of God, for they shall become angels of God.

"Blessed are they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest beside the Father and the Son.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not see the bitter day of judgment.

"Blessed are the bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing to God, and shall not lose the reward of their chastity; for the word of the Father shall become to them a work of salvation against the day of his Son, and they shall have rest for ever and ever."'

So did the new prophecy establish itself on the earlier elements of Christian hope and usage. The Montanists were in fact the Puritans of the second century. In them the fervour of the Church, the force and directness of its religious experience, rose up anew. Under these influences they ventured to protest against the growing rigidity of ecclesiastical custom, and the growing relaxation of ecclesiastical morals. But their protest did not prevail. The forces of tradition and organisation were too strong for them. Montanus and his followers disappear, and in their places stand the bishops. The revivalists find themselves encompassed by an official band under whose continuous pressure the energy of spontaneous impulse droops and fades. The church of the 'spirituals' is lost in the church of the sacramentalists. Prophecy dies, and Catholicism is born.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

NEW TESTAMENT MIRACLE PLAYS.

IN the account of the Miracle Plays published in the April number of the *Christian Reformer*, space did not permit more than a few words to be said about plays founded on the New Testament. These, however, were far more numerous than those relating to the Old Testament. In Drake's "History of York," pp. 223 *sqq.*, we have "The Order of the Pageants of the Play of Corpus Christi, in the time of the Mayoralty of William Alne, in the third year of the reign of King Henry V., anno 1415, compiled by Roger Burton, town clerk." Then follows a list of fifty-four pageants, which ninety-six guilds represented at eleven different stations in the city. Of the fifty-four only the first eleven deal directly with the Old Testament; the last, given by the *Hosyers*, showing "Moses exalting the serpent in the wilderderness; King Pharaoh; eight Jews admiring and expecting." The next pageant ingeniously brings in all else that was supposed to be important in the Old Testament, thus: "*Spicers.* Mary and a doctor declaring the sayings of the prophets about the future birth of Christ; an angel saluting her. Mary saluting Elizabeth." The remaining forty-two pageants continue the story with the birth, infancy, and earthly life of Jesus, giving the trial, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension at considerable length, and then come five pageants chiefly devoted to the glorification of Mary, showing her ascension with a multitude of angels and Jesus crowning her in heaven; the last pageant of all, by the *Mercers*, being Doomsday, with "Jesus, Mary, twelve apostles; four angels with trumpets, and four with a lance with two scourges; four good and four bad spirits [human souls], and six devils."

The entire list of pageants gives us an admirable illustration of the mediæval teaching of the Church, showing the points on which stress was laid, and especially the way in which the whole of human destiny was regarded as one great drama, having the Resurrection as its climax. Most instructive, too, is the long list of ninety-six companies, embracing every craft and profession carried on within the city walls, all uniting to represent the Play of Corpus Christi, an illustration of the complete accord which then existed between clergy and laity, and the earnest religious spirit which animated the whole nation. There is not a trace of that shamefacedness which would utterly prevent modern commercial men from publicly taking part in a sacred drama, or that tendency to sneer at piety which would make a working man of the present day feel like a hypocrite if he came on the stage to represent a Bible hero. There may be something for us still to learn from the religion of England in the pre-Reformation days.

In 1838, Dr. William Marriott published at Basel, but in English, "A Collection of English Miracle Plays or Mysteries." He gives us in all twelve complete plays. There are two from the Chester series—viz., the one already described on the Deluge, and the last but one of the series, on Antichrist.

The latter opens with a speech of Antichrist claiming to be Christ :

> " I am he they call Messy [Messiah]
> Forebyer [redeemer] of Israell."

He complains that a certain Jesus had deceived the people :—

> " Tell he was taken and put in bande,
> And slayne throughe vertue of my sounde;
> This is soth seekerly " [truth assuredly.]

Four kings then express their willingness to admit his claims to be " Christe omnipotente," if he will show them signs and

wonders. Antichrist accepts the challenge, and raises two dead men from their graves. He then announces that he will himself die, and must be buried, after which he will rise from the dead.

> " And after my resurreccion,
> Then will I sit in great renowne,
> And my ghost send to you downe
> In form of fier, full sone.
> I dye ! I dye ! now ame I dead."

The four kings, much impressed, proceed to bury him, and afterwards come up from the tomb to the surface of the earth and converse. Then Antichrist rises, claims homage, ascends a throne, and receives a sacrifice of a lamb which the kings offer on their knees, and bestows upon them his Holy Ghost ; and lastly, in accordance with the prophecy in Daniel, gives them lands with cities and castles :

> " To the I gyve Lomberdy ;
> And to the Demarke and Hongarie ;
> And take thou Pontus and Italy ;
> And Rome it shall be thyne."

Probably it would be waste labour to seek any hidden meaning in this geographical distribution, which indicates sufficiently for the Chester monks the bowing down of the whole world, including Rome, to Antichrist. But at this point there appear on the scene Enocke and Hely, who explain that they have been sent to Paradise, there to await the coming of " this thefe," and then to come forth and destroy his errors. What follows is little better than a scolding match between these two champions and Antichrist, the latter appealing to his signs and wonders, the former asserting that he is a "false feynde comen from hell," showing "no myrrackles but maweless things," "thro thy feyndes crafte." Antichrist asks, " Where have you any other god but me ? " Enocke answers :

" Yes Christe, God in Trenity,
Thou false feature attaynte—
That sent his sonne from heaven see,
That for mankynd dyed one roode tree,
That shall sone make the to flee."

And Helyas further explains the Trinity:

" Thre persones as thou leeve [believe] maye
In one Godhead in free.
Father and Sonne, that is no ney,
And the Holy Ghost styrringe aye,
That is one God verey,
Bene all thre named here."

Antichrist replies:

" Will ye have one God and Three?
Madmen, therefore leeve one me
That am one God, soe is not hee."

At last matters are decided by summoning the two dead men whom Antichrist has restored to life, and bidding them eat some bread. But first Helyas blesses the bread:

" *In nomine Patris*, that all hath wrought,—
Et Filii Virginis, that deare us bought,—
Et Spiritus Sancti, is all my thought,—
One God and persons thre."

After this, first and second *mortuus* are unable to eat the bread, and the kings renounce their allegiance to Antichrist, who thereupon kills them. This is his last crime, for now Michaell appears and kills him, after explaining that Antichrist had leave to destroy God's people for three years and a-half, but that now his time is ended. Two demons then appear in answer to Antichrist's dying cries of "Help," and carry him off lamenting,

" Many a fatt morsel we had for his sake."

The play concludes with Michael saying to Enoch and Elijah:

" Ye have bene lange, for you bene wise,
Dwellinge in earthly parradize,

But to heaven where hym selfe is
Nowe shall you goe with me.
[*Here the Archangel shall lead them to heaven, and shall sing 'Gaudete.'* "

It will be observed that there is not the slightest attempt to submit the claims of Antichrist to any moral test, though he clearly indicates an immoral character. All is decided by the magic formula of the Trinity, in which the *Filii Virginis* deserves special note. Nor is there any attempt to explain why Antichrist is allowed to deceive the people and given power to work apparent miracles. But the story of what was expected to happen, and might actually be happening at the very time when the play was being acted—for the three and a-half years could be given any date the imagination pleased to fix—is told with much vigour.

An interesting play of the Townely or Wakefield series is called "*Extractio Animarum ab Inferno.*" The origin of all the legends about the Harrowing of Hell, as it was called, is the clause in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into Hell." It was assumed that Christ would show forth his power in the lower as in the upper regions, and how could this be done better than by rescuing from Limbo the souls of the righteous supposed to be there confined? From this source mediæval legends were elaborated with much detail. In Hone's "Ancient Mysteries" he gives us an engraving taken by Michael Burghers from an ancient drawing for Hearne the antiquary. It bears a label, "*Jesus Christus resurgens a mortuis spoliat infernum,*" and consists of a very roughly-drawn figure of Christ, holding a cross in his left hand, and with his right hand leading Adam, followed by Eve and a number of other human beings, out of a hideous hell-mouth of the usual description. A devil stands by blowing a trumpet with the words over him, "*Out, out, arouzt,*" no doubt words of vain defiance. It must have been difficult to find much Biblical authority for the whole episode, but certain texts are

ingeniously introduced in the Wakefield Play. It opens with this speech of Jesus:

"My fader me from blys has send
Tille erthe for mankynde sake,
Adam mys for to amend,
My deth nede must I take:
I dwellyd ther thyrty yeres and two,
And som dele more, the sothe to say,
In anger, pyne, and mykylle wo,
I dyde on cros this day.
Therfor tille helle now wille I go,
To challange that is myne,
Adam, Eve, and othere mo,
Thay shalle no longer dwelle in pyne;
The feynde theym wan withe trayn, [treason]
Thrughe fraude of earthly fode, [food]
I have theym boght agan
With shedyng of my blode.
And now I wille that stede [place] restore,
Whiche the feynde felle fro for syn,
Som tokyn wille I send before,
Withe myrthe to gar [make] thare gammes [games] begyn.
A light I wille thay have
To know I wille com sone,
My body shalle abyde in grave
Tille alle this dede be done."

Then the action is transferred to the interior of hell, outside the gates of which this first speech has been delivered. Adam, who has been there in darkness "four thousand and six hundred yere," now sees a "gloryous gleme of light," and hopes that "help is nere." Eve thinks it the light of paradyse promising "solace certan." Then Isaias speaks:

"Adam, thrugh thi syn
Here were we put to dwelle,
This wykyd place within,
The name of it is helle;
Here paynes shall never blyn [cease]
That wykyd ar and felle,
Love that lord withe wyn
His lyfe for us wold selle."

Then all join in singing the first verse of *Salvator Mundi*, and Isaias further explains how:

"I spake of folk in darknes walkand
I saide a light shuld on them lende,"

and how this is the fulfilment of his prophecy. Next Simeon speaks of his sight of Christ in the temple:

"I saide, Lorde, let thi servandes leylle [loyal]
Pas in peasse to lyf lastande, [lasting]
Now that myn eeyn has sene thyn hele
No longer lyst I lyf in lande."

John the Baptist then describes the baptism of Jesus, and the voice he heard from heaven. Lastly, Moses speaks of the Transfiguration:

"To me, Moyses, he shewid his myght,
And also to another oone, Hely,
Where we stud on a hille on hyght;
As whyte as snaw was his body,
His face was like the son for bright."

Moses now recognises the same light and knows:

"That we shalle sone pas fro this payn."

Then follow a conversation between the devils Rybald and Belzabub, who are alarmed at this stir among the souls, and soon the voice of Jesus is heard:

"*Attolite portas, principes, vestras; et elevamini*
Portæ æternales; et introibit rex gloriæ."

The devils resolve on defence, David assures them it is vain, Sathanas appears and asks who is daring to attack them, Belzabub replies:

"It is the Jew that Judas sold
For to be dede this othere day."

Satan describes what counsel he gave the Jews after Jesus had "broght furthe of our baylle the lathe Lazare of Betany." Soon comes the direct challenge of Jesus:

"Ye prynces of helle open your yate,
And let my folk furthe gone,
A prynce of peasse shalle enter therat,
Wheder ye wille or none."

The devils boast of their strong gates and bars, but almost immediately exclaim:

"Out, harro! oure baylle is brokyn,
And brusten ar alle our bandes of bras."

Satan then comes forward to confront Jesus, who declares he is come only for those who are his own:

"Now is the tyme certan
My Fader ordand herfor,
That they shuld pas fro payn
In blys to dwelle for ever mor.
Satan: Thy fader knew I well by syght,
He was a wright his meett to wyn,
Mary me mynnes [I remember] thi moder hight,
The utmost ende of alle thy kyn,
Say who made the so mekille of myght?
Jesus: Thou wykyd feynde lett be thi dyn,
My Fader wonnes [dwells] in heven on hight,
In blys that never more shall blyn;
I am his oonly son his forword [promise] to fulfylle
Togeder wille we won, in sonder when we wylle."

After this Satan drops his arrogant tone and begins to quote Scripture, arguing from Proverbs (Salaman's Sawes) and Job, to the effect that there is no release from hell. Jesus replies that this is true, but that by hell a different place was meant:

"Where synfulle care shalle ever encrease
In that baylle ay shalle thou be."

Satan asks if he may not go with the rest, and on being refused asks if none shall be left to keep him company, Jesus replies:

"Yis, witt thou welle, els were greatt wrang,

Thou shalle have Cayne that slo Abelle,
And alle that hastes theym self to hang,
As dyd Judas and Architophelle;
And Daton and Abaron, and alle of thare assent
Cursyd tyranttes ever ilkon [of every kind] that me and myn tormente.
And alle that wille not lere my law
That I have left in land for new
That makes my commyng knaw,
And alle my sacramentes persew;
My death, my rysyng, red by raw,
Who trow thaym not thay ar untrewe
Unto my dome I shalle theym draw,
And juge thaym wars then any Jew.
And thay that lyst to lere my law and lyf therby
Shall never have harmes here, bot welth as is worthy.

Satan: Now, here my hand, I hold me payde
Thise poyntes ar playnly for my prow [profit],
If this be trew, as thou has saide,
We shalle have mo then we have now."

But when Satan declares what he shall do to teach men to reject Christ's law, and exclaims: "I shalle walk eest, I shalle walk west," Jesus replies, "Nay, feynde, thou shalbe feste"; and on Satan rudely retorting, Jesus commands him to go down, and Satan sinks into "helle pyt," with the accompanying jeer of Rybald: "Sir Sathanas so saide I are [before], Now shalle thou have a fytt."

Jesus now turns to the human souls and addresses them:

"Come now furthe my childer alle,
I forgyf you youre mys;
With me now go ye shalle
To joy and endles blys."

Adam and Eve express becoming gratitude; John and Moses say a few appropriate words, David quotes his own psalm:

"As I saide ere yit say I so
Non derelinquas, domine,
Animam meam in inferno,"

and Isaias calls upon all to join in singing *Te Deum Laudamus*, with which the play concludes.

The list of offenders who are to be left in hell is curious: Cain, suicides, Dathan and Abiram, the rebels against priestly power, and all tyrants who oppress good Christians. Furthermore, all who will not learn Christ's law and observe his sacraments shall be condemned to a worse fate even than the Jews; but those who do learn Christ's law and live by it shall receive no harm. There is very little dogmatic theology here, very little creed required. The entire omission, too, of any theory of the Atonement is remarkable. Jesus neither represents his death as a price paid to Satan nor as a sacrifice to justice. When Satan says:

> "Bot thou has lyffed ay lyke a lad,
> In sorow, and as a sympille knave,"

Jesus replies:

> "That was for the hartly luf I had
> Unto man's saulle it for to save."

But there is no attempt to show why this redemption had to be carried out by the death on the cross. Satan is tolerably well satisfied with the new arrangement; but it is the prospect of receiving many new lost souls that reconciles him to the departure of Adam and Eve and other souls whom Jesus claims as his own, and to whom he freely gives his forgiveness. Here, as elsewhere in the Miracle Plays, it is the story in Genesis and in the Gospels that is given, while the theology of the Epistles is ignored.

The Wakefield Play on *Judicium*, or Doomsday, well maintains the literary character of the series. It opens with speeches from sinners who have been aroused and terrified by loud trumpet blasts. The fourth *Malus* who speaks is full of contrition at the thought of seeing Christ upon his throne, especially of seeing his wounds.

> "Alas! how shalle I stand or loke hym in the face,

So curtes [courteous] I hym fand that gaf me life so lang a space,
Mi care is all command [coming], alas! where was my grace?
Alas! catyffes unkynde, whereon was oure thoght?
Alas! whereon was our mynde, so wykyd warkes we wroghte?
To se how he was pynde, how dere our luf he boght,
Alas! we were fulle blynde, now ar we wurs then noght.
. . . . . .
Wo worthe ever the fader that gate me to be borne!
That ever he let me stir bot that I had bene forlorne;
Warid [cursed] be my moder, and warid be the morne
That I was borne of hir, alas, for shame and skorne!"

Then an angel with a sword appears and parts the company, sending some to the right and some to the left; and then Jesus speaks, evidently from heaven:

"The tyme is commen, I wille make ende,
My Fader of heaven wille it so be,
Therfor tille erthe now wille I weynde,
My selfe to sytt in majestie;
To dele my dome I wille discende,
This body wille I bere with me,
How it was dight man's mys to amende
Alle man's kynde ther shalle it se."

The scene now appears to change to the infernal regions, and we have a long conversation between a First and Second Demon, who are afterwards joined by a third, named *Tutivillus*. They describe how the chains with which they had been bound fell off at the sound of the trumpet, and proceed to boast of all the evidence they can produce for the condemnation of sinners at the Judgment. Thus *Tutivillus* says to the other demons, with obvious reference to Lollard heresy:—

"I was youre chefe tollare [speaker]
And sithen courte rollar [keeper of the court rolls]
Now am I master Lollar,
And of sich men I welle rue;
I have broght to youre hande of saules, dar I say,
Mo than ten thowsand in an howre of a day;

Som at aylle howse I fande, and som of ferray, [on a foray]
Som cursid, som bande, som yei som nay;
So many
Thus broght I on blure [did I deceive]
Thus dyd I my cure."

Occasionally the language of the demons is coarse, and sometimes it might raise a bitter laugh among the audience, and one man, Harry Ruskyne, is addressed by name; but for the most part the tone is perfectly serious, and the condemnatory evidence is that of plain moral sins.

At length Jesus appears on the earth, and announces that he is sent by his Father as crowned king, and that the day of Judgment is come. He then extends his hands and shows his wounds, and in a speech full of dignity describes his sufferings at the hands of men:—

"Alle this suffred I for thi sake,
Say, man, what suffred thou for me?"

He then turns to the good on his right hand and continues, the whole scene closely following Matthew xxv. 34-46, except that Jesus is made to speak rather as though he were the Father of mankind than as the King. Any true doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood, any recognition of Jesus as Elder Brother, and God as "his Father and our Father," is wholly absent from this mediæval theology:—

"Mi blessed barnes on my right hande
Youre dome this day thar [need] ye not drede,
. . . . .
When I was hungre ye me fed,
To slek my thrist ye was fulle fre,
When I was clothles ye me cled,
Ye wold no sorrowe on me se;
In hard prison when I was sted
On my penance ye had pyte,
Fulle seke when I was broght in bed
Kindly ye cam to comforth me.
. . . . .

Therfor in heven shall be youre rest,
In joy and blys to beld me by [to behold me]."

Four good souls then successively ask when they did all this for Christ, and Jesus answers:—

" Mi blissid barnes, I shalle you say
What tyme this dede was to me done,
When any that nede had nyght or day,
Askyd you help and had it sone;
Youre fre harte saide theym never nay,
Erly ne late, myd day ne noyn,
As ofte sithes [times] as thai wold pray,
Thai thurte [need] bot aske and have thare boyn [boon]."

Then the wicked are addressed, the charges against them being confined, as in the Gospel, to a want of practical benevolence. Their replies and the rejoinder of Jesus are of the same character, and then sentence is pronounced:—

" Mi chosyn childer, come to me,
With me to dwelle now shalle ye weynde [go],
Ther joy and blys ever shalle be
Your life in lykyng for to leynde,
Ye warid wightes, from me ye fle,
In helle to dwelle withoutten ende,
Ther shalle ye noght but sorow see
And sit bi Sathanas the feynde."

The demons then have an opportunity of jeering at the condemned sinners, who utter no reply; and the piece is concluded by the first *Bonus* saying:—

" We love the, Lord, in alkyn thyng,
That for thyne awne has ordand thus,
That we may have now oure dwellyng
In heven blis giffen unto us;
Therfor fulle boldly may we syng
On oure way as we trus, [go]
Make alle myrthe and lovyng
With *Te Deum Laudamus.*"

So were the people drilled in the great truths taught by the Church. These plays were acted by the people and for

the people; and there is nothing in the English literature of the fifteenth century which can teach us so well what was the popular religion of the pre-Reformation period. Historians have paid little attention to this episode in our history, but it will not be without interest to those who wish really to study the story of religion in England and to understand the period out of which grew the aims and difficulties of the Reformers, the efforts of the Puritans, the reaction in favour of compromise, the fierce struggles and subsequent exhaustion, which are the clearly-marked and well-known features of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties. The Miracle Plays show how comparatively easy it is to cultivate the religious instincts of a nation up to a certain point, provided the teachers do not overstep the limits of what the nation regards as reasonable, and how difficult it then is to make any further advance, the success already obtained being the greatest obstacle to progress which will supersede the religious standard generally accepted. This is a constantly recurring phase in the history of religion, and we have been dealing with one of its most striking illustrations.

H. SHAEN SOLLY.

MEDICAL OPINION AND VIVISECTION.

THERE is no wonder that doctors look upon vivisection as one of the necessities of medical science. From the very beginning of their studies they encounter records of experiments on living animals in the books they are required to master for examination; and everything tends to deepen the impression first made, as their studies advance. The great men in the history of medicine were many of them noted vivisectors; and the vivisectors of the present day are held up to students as being more than ordinarily scientific, and therefore worthy of emulation and esteem.

Vivisection is part of the mental atmosphere in which the medical student grows up, and his opinion is formed for him, without his being able to say why or how.

It is this that accounts for the extraordinary differences that abound in the writings of the defenders of vivisection. A number of individuals may be unanimous in holding an opinion on any subject; but unless that opinion has been reached by some definite process of reasoning on definite facts, every one will explain differently *why* the opinion is maintained. In the case of vivisection, in so far as it is a scientific question, nothing short of the most rigid argument on definite facts should be countenanced in the endeavour to determine the relation it bears to medical science. But this is not at all the kind of thing that is met with in the writings and speeches of those who defend the practice. On the contrary, the defence of it is of a most unstable nature, the defenders shifting their ground continually, and repeatedly contradicting both one another and themselves; and thus it becomes plain that the opinion they hold in common is founded not on

reason, but on sentiment, and that the enthusiasm they manifest in the cause (which has espoused them, rather than they it) is in inverse ratio to the soundness of their arguments.

To those medical men who have isolated themselves from the prevailing current of medical opinion, and have taken up a position from which they can view the question in an independent light, the relation which vivisection bears to medical science presents a very different aspect. They cannot help seeing, quite as well as the others do, that experiments on living animals are intimately mixed up with medical science, woven, indeed, into the very texture of it; but they regard the presence of these experiments and the teaching derived from them, not as the natural substance of the science, but as an adulterating material. To them the medical profession resembles in this respect a community which has been supplied with an article of commerce always adulterated in a particular way, and has come to regard the adulteration as one of the peculiar excellences of the material.

By way of illustrating the manner in which the medical opinion in favour of vivisection has grown, it may be well to take a few examples of the facts, or supposed facts, on which it is founded. Most medical men when challenged would be ready to hazard the works of John Hunter as a great argument in favour of the divine right of man to torture brutes in the quest of knowledge. And when asked particularly, *which* of his works, ninety-nine out of every hundred who know anything about the matter would reply—his discovery of the operation for *aneurism* through tying an artery in the neck of a stag. Well, on the surface, the facts look a little like this. Hunter did tie an artery in the neck of a stag, and he did do something to improve the operation referred to, though the operation itself was no invention of his. But on close inspection it is abundantly clear, as Sir James Paget and Mr. Erichsen have pointed out, that Hunter's vivisections had not the remotest connection with the

improvement he suggested in the operation. As most people are aware, aneurism is a disease of an artery in which the coats distend; and, if no means are taken to arrest its progress, the artery eventually bursts. When an aneurism occurs at the back of the knee, which is known to anatomists as the "popliteal space," it is called from its position a "popliteal aneurism." It is generally imagined that Hunter discovered, through his experiment on the stag, that it was possible to tie an artery in its course without endangering the limb supplied by it with blood. But arteries had been tied in their course long before Hunter's birth; and his experiment merely demonstrated a fact already well known, namely, that when one arterial trunk is obliterated the circulation is carried on by collateral branches. Then what did Hunter do for the operation for popliteal aneurism? He simply suggested that the artery should be tied in a different place. Formerly it had been tied at the back of the leg just above the aneurism. At this point the artery was frequently diseased, and gave away after being tied, thus giving rise to bleeding which was usually fatal. Hunter suggested that the artery should be tied an inch or two higher up, in the thigh, where it was sound and would be better able to bear the strain. With this suggestion his experiment on the deer had nothing whatever to do; it was the common-sense inference of a practical man from bed-side and *post-mortem* observations; and yet the bulk of medical men to-day believe that Hunter invented the operation for aneurism by ligature, and that he was led to this by vivisecting a stag!

Harvey and the share he had in discovering the circulation of the blood, affords another good example of the nature of the ground on which medical opinion is formed. Harvey was no doubt a vivisector; he endeavoured by vivisection to solve the problem of the heart's action; he completed, as far as was possible in his day, the description of the circular course of the blood from one side

of the heart to the other. At the first blush it looks as if the vivisections led naturally to this discovery. Popularly it is imagined that Harvey opened animals, looked into them, and *saw* the blood circulating. Of course, every medical man knows that this is absurd. As a matter of fact, Harvey could make nothing whatever of what he did see when he opened the animals, and was near giving up in despair his attempt to solve the problem under the impression that it was not the will of Providence that it should be solved. And, indeed, it was not the will of Providence that it should be solved in that way. Harvey's work in which his discovery was set forth was published in the year 1628, when he was fifty-one years old. It was probably written some years earlier; but there is no doubt that he spent many years on the problem before it was at last solved. The smaller circulation—through the lungs—had been described more than seventy years before by Servetus, and later, with hints of the general circulation, by Columbus and Cesalpinus. With their works Harvey was familiar. They had paved the way for him, and if he had continued in their footsteps, and reasoned from the structure of the blood-vessels, instead of confusing his mind with vivisections, he would have found his task much less tedious. Having once made his vivisections he could not exclude them from his reckonings, and he mentions them in the famous passage in which he states how he arrived at his conclusion. But it is plain that it was not these but the anatomy of "the ventricles of the heart, and the vessels that enter in and issue from them, the symmetry and size of these conduits . . . . the arrangement and intimate structure of the valves in particular, and of the other parts of the heart in general," together with the manifest impossibility of an equilibrium being kept up between arteries and veins, unless the blood found its way from one to the other,—it is plain that it was these considerations that made him think that the

blood must pass from one side of the heart to the other through the body, in the same way as it was known to pass through the lungs. In this process of reasoning it is not possible to trace any connection between the vivisections and the results arrived at: and yet Harvey and the circulation of the blood forms one of the principal supports of the medical opinion in favour of vivisection.

I will take my last instance from our own time. The (in point of size) great work of Dr. Lauder Brunton, on "Pharmacology and Therapeutics," now in its third edition, constitutes one of the most tremendous impeachments of vivisection as a method of advancing the art of healing ever published, if only it is looked at in its true light. In this work Dr. Brunton has given what is supposed to be the latest and most scientific account of the physiology of the various substances used in medicine. This means that he has experimented on animals with them, and given the effects he has observed. A very large proportion of the bulk of the book is taken up with details of these experiments. But when we pass from these to the "uses" of the drugs in disease the effect is startling, and in some instances ludicrous. There is not the smallest connection between the one and the other. We are told, for instance, of the effect of a drug on an animal's heart, on its vagus nerves, or on the "respiratory centre," and we pass on to learn that it is useful for—killing parasites, forsooth! or for the toothache! But yet, such is the effect of mere bulk, and repeated assertion, that the vast majority of the readers of this ponderous work will carry away the idea that the experiments on animals are very scientific, of immense importance, and must have some vital connection with the practice of medicine; though where precisely the connection exists may have escaped their observation.

In his preface Dr. Brunton makes one solitary claim on behalf of the new vivisectional method of studying drugs. He claims that his discovery of the use of *nitrite of amyl*

in breast-pang (*angina pectoris*) is its direct and immediate fruit. From this we should imagine that Dr. Brunton had experimented, or had seen experiments, on animals with the drug, and had immediately inferred that it would be useful in this disease. On the contrary, the discovery of the drug's usefulness was made in a very different way. The account is given in the third volume of the Clinical Society's "Transactions." From this it appears that the drug was tried on the patient, not as a brilliant first inference, but as a last resort. The patient had been treated in vain for weeks with *aconite*, *digitalis*, *lobelia inflata*, and *iodide of potassium*—the last being pushed until purpuric spots came out on the man's body—*brandy*, *chloroform*, and, lastly, *bleeding*. The bleeding had had some effect in relieving the pain. This made Dr. Brunton think of the *amyl nitrite*, which he imagined acted in a similar way. *Amyl nitrite* had been experimented with on animals by Drs. Richardson and Gamgee, with somewhat contradictory results. Dr. Gamgee further experimented with it *on hospital patients*, with the result of confirming his observations on animals—namely, that it produced arterial relaxation. Indeed, it required only that the experimenter should himself smell of the stopper removed from a bottle containing the substance to make this discovery—flushing of the face and throbbing of the whole arterial system at once ensuing on this simple proceeding. From the effect of bleeding on his patient, Dr. Brunton inferred that high arterial tension was the cause of the pain in breast-pang. Hence his use of this drug instead of bleeding to produce relaxation of tension; and it proved effective to some extent, though the patient left the hospital uncured, after six months of treatment, and with the recommendation—not to use the amyl nitrite, but—to have himself bled occasionally!

This much must be allowed to Dr. Brunton: he was the first to use amyl nitrite in breast-pang; and it is a valuable

palliative in some cases of this disease. But that experiments on animals had any essential connection with his application of it cannot be allowed. If any experiments are to be credited with this, it is the experiments on human beings. Dr. Brunton's theories, also, on which his use of it is alleged to have been based, have since been proved erroneous. Dr. G. W. Balfour, of Edinburgh, in his work on "Diseases of the Heart," points out their unsatisfactoriness; he proves by a case of his own that the pain does not depend on high tension; and he further proves that it is not by relaxing arterial tension that the drug relieves pain. The proof of this is convincing. Dr. Balfour had two specimens of the drug, which he gave to a patient of his suffering from breast-pang. Both of these relaxed the arterial tension, as shown by the flushing produced, but only one of them, the more freshly prepared specimen, had any influence in relieving the pain. From which it is obvious that it is some other property of the drug, and not, as Dr. Brunton said, its power to relax arterial tension, that gives the relief: and it consequently follows that the discovery of the value of amyl nitrite in heart-pang was more of the nature of a lucky fluke than anything else. And yet it still does duty, like the discoveries of Hunter and Harvey, to foster medical opinion in favour of vivisection!

To go into the question of Pasteurism would require an article in itself. It is a subject which will form one of the most instructive chapters in the history of modern medicine, and will afford striking illustration of the quicksand nature of the ground on which many medical opinions are based. But I must pass on now to consider more particularly what the medical opinion is that has grown up in the way I have described.

It is only occasionally that medical opinion on vivisection crystallises itself into a tangible form. Usually it is in a fluid state. The general set of it is strongly in favour of

vivisection, but to what extent the individual members of the profession approve or disapprove of existing regulations and of foreign vivisectors is unknown probably to themselves, until some occasion arises which compels them to commit themselves to a definite resolution. Such an occasion happened in 1881, when the International Medical Congress was held in London, and expressed its opinion on the point at a full general meeting; and again, the other day, when an influentially signed Round Robin was presented to the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons requesting them to spend the £200,000 bequeathed to them by the late Sir Erasmus Wilson on the erection and endowment of a laboratory to rival those on the Continent, which possess the most evil reputations for the cruelties practised in them.

The terms of the resolution passed at the Congress of 1881, which may be found on page 101 of the "Transactions" of the Congress, are as follows:—

"That this Congress records its conviction that experiments on living animals have proved of the utmost service to medicine in the past, and are indispensable to its future progress. That accordingly, while strongly deprecating the infliction of unnecessary pain, it is of opinion, alike in the interests of man and of animals, that it is not desirable to restrict competent persons in the performance of such experiments."

Probably if the animals most concerned had only the power of combining and expressing their sentiments they would, whilst deeply grateful for the attention the resolution pays to their interests, interpret those interests in a very different sense. The meaning of the resolution is not doubtful. Stripped of all circumlocution, not to say hypocrisy, it means that the Congress protested against the Vivisection Act and the restrictions it imposes. And in so doing, it no doubt expressed a very general feeling in the profession. The profession resents the Act, and the action of those who

oppose vivisection, as an impertinence. It is felt that no one outside the profession has any right to dictate to it what it shall and what it shall not do. The effect of the regulations on the profession at large is much the same as when an individual doctor has his opinion disputed by a layman. It is forgotten that the laws which regulate the profession are not made by medical men, but are imposed by the State; and that no privileged body can with safety be trusted to define the limits of its own privileges. It is forgotten that the public is the master of the profession, and has a right to judge of the methods which the doctors propose to use in its service. Much of the bitterness evinced by the defenders of vivisection may be traced to wounded *amour propre*.

And the *amour propre* of the profession in Great Britain tells also in another and quite different way. If the worship of Science were the ideal thing which those who think themselves the votaries of Science are fond of proclaiming it to be, there would be no room for jealousy in the minds of scientific men. Every man would rejoice when his brother made a discovery, and it would not matter to him in the least to what nationality the discoverer might belong. Science being the object of worship, the glory of Science would be advanced and the object of all attained. But alas! ideals are seldom realised, and by none more seldom than the scientific. Instead of vieing with each other in friendly rivalry, nation rises up against nation, each more anxious to outshine the other than to advance the cause of Science which all profess to hold in common. This is the reason why we so often hear the complaint that Great Britain is losing her position; that we are doing nothing to compare with the physiological work of Continental nations; that it is impossible that our country can hold its own so long as our physiologists are debarred the "free hand" enjoyed by the Vulpians, Cyons, Munks, Goltzes, Schiffs, and Mantegazzas of the Continent. One would think that the opportunities enjoyed by these worthies

were enough to provide for all the vivisection supposed to be necessary for medical science; but that is not the point. The sore thing is that the Continental nations should reap all the credit, when British vivisectors ought to win some of it for our own country. It is wounded pride that is at work here; and the Round Robin already referred to brings this aspect of the question prominently to the front. The letter was addressed to the President, Vice-president, and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. It was signed by fifty gentlemen, all eminent in the scientific world, and a full half of them vivisectors. The terms of the letter are as follows, the passages indicating the international jealousy in vivisection I have put in italics :—

"GENTLEMEN,—We, the undersigned, being informed that a legacy of a considerable amount has been bequeathed to you by the late Sir Erasmus Wilson for the benefit of the College, and presumably for the advancement of science, beg respectfully to direct your attention to the need of support of those collateral branches of medicine which can only flourish by liberal pecuniary aid.

"We would, therefore, suggest to you the desirability of founding an institution under the direction of the College which shall have for its object 'Physiological and Pathological Research.' The want of such an institution in England has long been felt, and more especially of late, *when we have had to look to Berlin for information respecting tubercle and to Paris for experiments on the prevention of hydrophobia. It is a national discredit that we have nothing in London like the splendid laboratories which exist not only in the capital cities of Europe, but in comparatively small towns such as Bonn, Strassburg, and Leipsic.*

"There is little prospect of the Government establishing such an institution, or of its being founded by public subscription; the only hope of its foundation lies in the possible bequest of a large sum of money to be devoted to scientific uses. An opportunity has now occurred which has put it in the power of the College to carry this into effect, an opportunity which, if now lost, may never recur.

"The foundation of an institution of this nature *would tend to raise England to the scientific position held by France and Germany*, would create a body of men anxious to devote themselves to scientific work, would be in accord with the best wishes of the donor, and

would place the Royal College of Surgeons of England amongst the foremost institutions of Europe.

"The President and Council would be adding much to their honour if, when an endeavour is being made to strengthen the Empire by a consolidation of the Colonies, they founded an Institution in the mother country which should draw to it students from all parts of Her Majesty's dominions."

The delicacy of the hint conveyed in the last paragraph, that the proposed laboratory might stand beside the Imperial Institute as a kind of medical monument of the Queen's Jubilee, will scarcely be appreciated outside the profession. The letter, which has been backed by the authority of *The British Medical Journal*, has been met with a counter-memorial, signed by thousands of persons throughout the country and approved at numbers of public meetings, protesting against the erection of any such institution, and disclaiming any desire that the metropolis of our country should rival the questionable reputations of the towns specially mentioned by the memorialists. The courtesy with which the President of the College of Surgeons received the counter-memorial presented to him by a deputation, has exposed him to the most virulent attacks in the medical journals. For his part, he has no desire to see a great laboratory erected and endowed. It remains to be seen how far the Council of the College will endorse his views. But, in any case, the memorial affords an excellent opportunity of gauging the present state of medical opinion on vivisection. Whenever the medical profession speaks unitedly on the subject, it condemns all legislative restriction of experiments on animals, and expresses regret that this country does not enjoy the same facilities for experimenting possessed by foreign physiologists.

It is, however, not a little bewildering to come from the general to particular expressions of opinion. We find the same men who vote for resolutions like that cited above and sign memorials like the Round Robin, and the same journals

which support both the one and the other, individually pointing with a certain kind of pride to the Act—which they unite to condemn—as affording a safeguard to the animals against cruelty.* And when the Inspector issues his Annual Report, which invariably minimises the amount of vivisection that takes place and the amount of suffering inflicted, it is seized upon with glee by the same journals and the same signatories who cry out for laboratories like those on the Continent, as showing that nothing compared with the Continental cruelties takes place in this country. This flattering unction, I fear, cannot be justly laid to our souls, with the records of the laboratories of the London Schools, of Cambridge, of Edinburgh, and Manchester, and their work since the passing of the Act, bearing witness against us. But the fact shows the unstable foundation on which medical opinion relating to vivisection is based. That vivisection is a good thing, and that it has done much for diminishing human suffering, all honestly believe; but individually they are a little ashamed of it, nevertheless, and are glad when the authorities tell the world that next to nothing of it is being done.

I have shown above how the opinion that vivisection has been of any good to the practice of medicine has arisen and been perpetuated. It is the result of impressions derived from surface appearances which are quite at variance with the actualities. The vivisectors have often been asked to name a single case in which a life has been saved through vivisection, in place of the vague boasts about "vast numbers" they usually indulge in. Not very long ago the "one case" was at last announced in the *Times* newspaper; but in a few days the patient whose life had been thus "saved" was dead, a

* As a matter of fact, the Act does nothing of the sort. Though it is better than no Act at all, it is a bad kind of compromise at the best, and is administered in the worst possible way, the chief functionary under the Act—the so-called "Inspector," who never inspects—having himself practised vivisection.

victim of the experimenting mania instead of a triumph*. The reference to M. Pasteur by the Round Robinists was peculiarly unfortunate. There is now in the possession of the English Hydrophobia Commission experimental proof that M. Pasteur's inoculations have been the direct cause of one death, and there is the strongest possible clinical evidence that in about a dozen other cases lives have been sacrificed to the *laboratory hydrophobia*, which is the only certain invention of M. Pasteur in connection with the disease. But, in spite of these disasters, the mere mention of his name has been with many medical men a sufficient answer to all who object to vivisection.

The simple fact is that, with very rare exceptions, medical men, however skilful in their practices, and however well versed in their own particular branch of science, are not of a philosopic turn of mind. They are lovers of opinion rather than lovers of knowledge. They are honestly of opinion that vivisection is good; but how they came by that opinion they cannot say, and when they begin to defend it they are at once landed in hopeless inconsistences. But the question whether or not vivisection has been useful to medical science is not a matter of opinion but a matter of fact, to be tested in a philosophic spirit from the standpoint of history and the standpoint of science. When examined in this way it is found that vivisection has had no true part in the building up of medical science, but exists in it only as an adulteration, and an adulteration of a most pernicious kind.

JOHN H. CLARKE.

* I allude to the case of the patient operated on at the Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis, in Regent's Park, for brain-tumour, brought before the public notice in the *Times* of December 16, 1884, by a writer signing himself "F. R. S." The controversy arising out of the letter lasted long after the patient's death.

"THOUGHT IT NOT ROBBERY TO BE EQUAL WITH GOD."

A RECENT number of *The Expositor* (February, 1887) contains an article by the Rev. J. Agar Beet on the interpretation of this passage (Philipp. ii. 6-11). Like every thing from his pen, the paper is lucid and interesting. At the same time it affords no bad example of the embarrassment and the singular departure from a true Christian monotheism often occasioned to those who write on these subjects under the necessities of dogmatic exposition. The verses in question are usually regarded as of much doctrinal importance, and I propose therefore to offer a few remarks upon them, with the view more especially of pointing out certain historical considerations which are necessary to their interpretation, and which, strange to say, Mr. Beet, in his somewhat elaborate paper, has left entirely out of his account.

As the paper alluded to has given occasion to what I have to say, I need not perhaps make any apology for referring directly and particularly to it. I hope to do so in no merely polemical, that is to say, controversial spirit; but with the simple purpose of contributing to the right understanding of a section of this Epistle, which is certainly difficult, and which, as Mr. Beet admits, is the subject of much prevalent misinterpretation.

Mr. Beet observes that "no early exposition of this difficult passage is satisfactory. We are therefore left to seek by independent study the sense intended by the Apostle. Our only resources are the grammatical meaning of the words, and the line of thought of his Epistle" (p. 120). On this I venture to remark that surely these are not "our only resources." I would fully accept them, indeed, as aids which are indispensable to the understanding of the passage; but I would add to them the consideration of certain well ascertained ideas of apostolic times respecting the Messiah and the Messianic office. Mr. Beet appears to leave these entirely out of sight. He tacitly assumes that the interpretation of the passage must be based upon certain speculative theological ideas found in creeds and doctrines much later than Paul, and of which that Apostle certainly does not speak in this passage, nor, indeed, so far as I can understand his language, in any other.

But what, then, are the ideas of the Messiah and his office to which I refer, and which may be expected to throw light on the words now before us? The Apostle Paul, after his conversion, stood forth as a preacher of the Gospel. In the Book of Acts there are several references to this, and we are repeatedly told what it was that he preached. He went into the synagogues at Damascus, and "proclaimed Jesus that he is the Son of God": or, in other and equivalent phrase, he proved "that he is Christ" (Acts ix. 20, 22, Revised Version). Jesus as the Christ, the Messiah, the Messianic Son of God, constantly comes up to view in the Acts and elsewhere, as the one great theme of Paul's preaching, as he was also of primitive Christian faith (Acts xvii. 3, xviii. 5, 28; Matt. iii. 17; John xi. 27, xx. 31; 1 John v. 1, 5). But the expectations of the time had pointed to a Messiah of temporal power, one who should possess earthly might and glory, and should be able to give to his chosen followers places of eminence and power in his "kingdom." This idea makes its appearance in several instances—as, for example, when the wife of Zebedee comes to Jesus (Matt. xx. 21) and asks him that her sons may sit, the one on his right hand and the other on the left in his future exaltation. It cannot be doubted that in the estimation of his followers, Jesus, though rejected and put to death, had in his character of Messiah an inherent right and title to this great pre-eminence. He might have had it, if he had so desired, for it was the legitimate prerogative of the Messianic office. He had, indeed, put away, and left untouched for a time this temporal greatness; but yet, when he should come again in the not distant future, he would be the possessor of all this glory; for, as we read, it was expected that he would in time (and soon) return again to the earth, to be the king and the judge of men (Matt. xxv. 31; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Rev. i. 1, 3, xxii, 10, 20).

In his past career, however, Jesus the Christ had lived a lowly and despised life. Such was his own free choice; and that he should do so was necessary for the sake of others. Had he come at once as Lord and judge there would have been nothing for the world in its sins but condemnation at his hands, and the sentence of exclusion from his presence. But he was contented to postpone his rightful claims, and even to suffer ignominy and death for sinful men; to put aside the glories of the Messiahship, and live on the earth as an ordinary man, even as a servant (a slave). In his great love and self-sacrifice he was contented to accept the cross—*not*, be it observed, for the theological ends, usually set forth in the popular teaching of our day (for such ends are nowhere stated in the New

Testament), not for such ends, but simply to release himself from the restraints of the ancient Law of his people, which, as a wall of partition (Ephes. ii.) stood between him and a sinful world, preventing all, except a chosen few (if even these should be excepted, for "all," according to the Law (Rom. iii. 9-20), were "under sin"), from having freedom of access to the Messiah's kingdom, and being his subjects.

To us of these later times, all this may seem to afford but slight and artificial ground for the death of Christ. But such ideas arose naturally or inevitably from the long-descended and stubborn prejudices of the Jews in reference to the Gentile world. Such ideas had, therefore, no unreal or transient influence, but a power that was strong and real to all, whether of Jewish or Gentile race, who were immediately concerned with them. Had not, therefore, some effective means been forthcoming of meeting and removing this great obstacle, the diffusion of Christianity would hardly have been possible; even the continued existence of Christianity would have been endangered. One that was Messiah solely for them that were "under the Law" could never have become the Christ of "the sinners of the Gentiles." But by the cross Jesus showed to the world that his work was not to be restricted within the bounds of his own people. Dead to earth and ascended to heaven, he was released from the Law of sin and death which had now no more dominion over him (Rom. vi.). He is now, as spiritual Lord of all, accessible to all by "faith," and by faith alone; and so, by and through his death he assumes the world-wide, spiritual empire, which, as a Hebrew, and under the old Law of his people, he could never have attained.

This great result of the death of Christ, and the means by which it was brought about, are referred to in a variety of figurative expressions, derived mostly from the sacrificial system of the Hebrews, and found scattered throughout the pages of the New Testament. On these I need not further dwell; but, adopting now for the moment Mr. Beet's translation of Philipp. ii. 6, we read, "HE DEEMED NOT HIS BEING EQUAL TO GOD a means of GRASPING." But grasping what? In accordance with the foregoing statement I reply, The rights and glories of the Messianic office. Paul does not indeed say this in so many words; but the purport of his language was doubtless readily apprehended by those for whom he was writing, even though we of this distant age have to gather his meaning, as best we can, from passing allusions and expressions, the meaning of which is not always on the surface. The Apostle,

therefore, quite naturally leaves his readers to their own knowledg of the beliefs and expectations of their day on which his statement are based, and gives no detailed explanation of what, indeed, woul be sufficiently familiar to them without it. Similarly we, too, ar left to draw our interpretation of his words from the same source— such knowledge as we possess respecting the beliefs, feelings, cir cumstances amidst which, and with more or less of reference tc which, the Apostle wrote. And no interpretation, it is safe to say, ought to be accepted as legitimate and satisfactory which is not duly founded upon the contemporary historical considerations which have now been pointed out.

In one or two particulars I venture to take exception to the translation which Mr. Beet proposes. He renders "he deemed not his being equal to God a means of grasping." But Paul does not say "*his* being," and it is purely arbitrary to insert here the word "his." Moreover, the Greek is ἴσα not ἴσον—a difference which is not without its significance. The latter, or masculine, form of the adjective would have suggested a personal equality; whereas the adverbial phrase τὸ εἶναι ἴσα is indefinite, and relates to outward circumstances or condition, in evident harmony with the exposition above given.

Again, the word θεῷ (not τῷ θεῷ): should it be rendered as "God," or as "a god"?* The secondary meaning of the word is not unknown to the New Testament, and was common enough in Paul's time (John x. 34, 35; 1 Cor. viii. 6). Jesus, by virtue of his great office, was, or might have been, in "the form of a god"; it was the inherent right of the Messiahship (ὑπάρχων); but he renounced this greatness, he denied himself; Messiah though he was, and in reality possessed of the Divine powers which he had manifested, he lived as a common human being; he took "the form of a servant" (or slave). In so doing he gave his followers an example of self-renunciation, which they could well appreciate, and could even imitate. And for this, his humility and self-denial (the apostle adds), God (ὁ θεός) has highly exalted him, and given him a name that is above every other, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue should confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God, the Father of all.

I am quite sensible that this exposition is not altogether free from difficulties. But no exposition that I have seen is so; certainly not that of Meyer, any more than De Wette's, though the latter comes

* Similarly ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ compared with ὁ θεός, in verse 9.

somewhat near to what I have above set forth as the meaning of the passage. Equally open to exception are the respective interpretations of the two Bishops—Ellicott and Lightfoot—to both of which Mr. Beet himself objects. These interpretations, it is needless to point out, are essentially based, quite as much as his own, on ideas which, however ancient, as descended even from Nicene times, and embodied in the dogmatic systems of long-established churches and sects, are yet conspicuous in the writings of St. Paul, simply by their *absence.*

These expositions are further open to a most fatal objection, as looked at from the side of Christian monotheism—implying as they do, so plainly, the existence of *two* Divine Beings. Of these, the one humbled himself and renounced (according to Bishop Lightfoot), "the prerogatives of Deity." The other did not humble himself! The one suffered and died, and was rewarded *by the other* for his self-sacrifice. * Truly Christian monotheism, in its popular forms, bears at times a wonderful likeness to heathen polytheism! †

Mr. Beet observes that the ancient Fathers give but little help to a right exposition of this passage. They were, I may add, too much under the influence of the Logos doctrine to be able to see what may be termed the natural, historical import of the words. But that doctrine, the mere figment, as it was, of philosophical fancy, ought not to be made the basis of historical interpretation in a passage like this. Our modern expositors, who have so strangely missed the meaning, have done so under a kindred influence, that is to say, under the influence of the stereotyped creeds and theories of modern orthodoxy. This may easily be seen in Mr. Beet's treatment of the subject, as well as in that of the eminent episcopal authorities, from whom he dissents.

In regard to the word ἁρπαγμός, I have allowed the active meaning for which Mr. Beet contends. This yields, however, I must say, a very awkward and cumbrous result. And I am certainly very doubtful about the correctness of the difference between ἁρπαγμός and ἅρπαγμα, as sought to be established in this instance—although, as to the general usage there can be no question. In New

* Lightfoot, *Epistle to Philippians,* in loco. So in substance Bishop Ellicott (on *Philippians*). He speaks of Christ not insisting "on His own eternal prerogatives." Dr. Liddon ("Bampton Lectures") improves on such statements, and speaks of Christ as "emptying himself of the glory or form of His eternal Godhead."

† See my "Bible and Popular Theology." Last Edition. P. 334. (About Apollo and Admetus.)

Testament Greek, no such close adherence to classical distinction need be insisted on. Cases, it is needless to say, occur in which such distinctions are lost sight of—as, for example, in *αἰτέω* and *ἐρωτάω*; and there are many instances in which words are found in New Testament usage to have assumed new or extended meanings. The word *ἁρπαγμός* might very well, therefore, be taken here as equivalent to *ἅρπαγμα*.* If so, the rendering should be, "he did not deem the being on an equality with God (or a god), a thing to be seized." So, in substance, the Revised Version, both in text and in margin.

In conclusion, I venture to submit the following paraphrase of the Apostle's words:—Do not look each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the interests and the welfare of others; imitate the great example of your Master, have the same mind in you which he manifested when he renounced the privileges and glories of his Messianic office. By virtue of that office he was in truth entitled to exercise the authority of a god on earth. But he did not deem this, his legitimate right, a thing to be seized. He emptied himself of it (similarly 2 Cor. viii. 9): he lived among us as an ordinary man, and took the form of a slave; he humbled himself, and became obedient even to the death of the cross. Wherefore, also, God has exalted him, and given him a name which is above every other.

G. VANCE SMITH.

* This latter word is not found in the New Testament.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Notes on the Amended English Bible, with special reference to certain Texts in the Revised Version of the Old and New Testaments bearing upon the Principles of Unitarian Christianity. By HENRY IERSON, M.A. London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1887.

THIS little volume, by the Secretary of the Unitarian Association, will be found useful by all who take an interest in the Unitarian controversy, on whichever side they may place themselves. The writer modestly calls it "this pamphlet," but it is rather a handbook, of 180 pages, conveniently arranged for reference and consultation, in which the texts bearing upon matters in controversy between Trinitarians and Unitarians are classified under such heads as "The Scriptures and the Word of God," "Infidelity and Unbelief," "The Trinity," "The Deity of Christ," "Sheol, Hades, Hell," "Satan, the Devil, the Evil One," "Man's Fallen Nature," "Conversion," &c.

In the passages adduced and commented upon, the two Versions are given in parallel columns, and then follow short notes, with special reference to translations made by Unitarian scholars before the Revised Version, and especially to the Improved Version of the New Testament (based upon Archbishop Newcome's revised translation) which was published by the Unitarian Fund Society in 1808, before the Unitarian Association was founded, and the Revised Translation of the Old Testament, published by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in 1862. Certainly, as Mr. Ierson says in his introduction,

> "It is remarkable that so many of these changes [in the Revised Version] occur in what have been considered orthodox proof-texts, the Revisers adopting corrections which have long been contended for by Unitarian scholars. In a few instances, however, the alterations tend in the opposite direction. These are not unnoticed in the following pages" (*Introd.* p. 3).

It is no doubt easier for Mr. Ierson to be thus candid, than it was for the old Scriptural Unitarians, or is for the rigid Scripturalists of to-day. So long as scholars hold themselves bound to accept whatever they find in the Bible, they will do their best to persuade themselves and others that they find there what they can most easily accept. Mr. Ierson's freedom in this will render his book useful to many, as a candid comparison of the old and new versions in passages relating to other than the strictly Unitarian controversies in the religious world of to-day. Many will be glad of a handy comparison of the old version with the

new in passages bearing upon "The Use of the Word Eternal," "The Free Grace of God," "Redemption, Atonement, Forgiveness," "Christ's Resurrection," "The term Son of God," &c.

As the passages are arranged according to subject, an index of texts at the end of the volume, containing more than 500 references from Genesis i. 1 to Revelation xii. 13, adds greatly to its usefulness.

New Aspects of Life and Religion, by HENRY PRATT, M.D. London: Williams and Norgate, 1886.

THE author of this little volume announces another, on *Kabbala, Primitiva, Adumbrata, Occultata ac Regustata;* to which, as we gather, this is in some sort an introduction, for it passes through Dedication, Introduction, Prologue, Selective Evolution, Problems in Bible Reading, to the Genesis of the Soul, and of the eight sections treating of this last and chief subject, six are "Kabbalistic." Of Kabbalistic lore we are happily ignorant, and will, therefore, not presume to criticise our author's attempts to set it forth. We must be content to argue from the known to the unknown. When we find him stating that *Peter* is a Hebrew name, and was given to Simon as the first called, or "first-born" of the disciples; that "The Greek *Psuché* represents the Hebrew *Nephesh Chaiah*," so closely that there is "more than a suspicion" that it "is but a transformation thereof, for when the unpointed Hebrew is treated as a single word, and the formative letters *Nun* and *Jod* are removed therefrom, the simple addition of the letter *u*, and the reading of the Hebrew Hé as Héta, gives the Greek Psuché; and that Space is the unknown first Cause; and, finally, when we are told that a "solid triangular body" (or, as we should prefer to say a pyramid) has four sides, a triangular plane *five* sides, "whereas an ideal triangle, depicted by mathematical, that is, imaginary lines, can have no sides at all, being simply a phamtom of the mind;" why, then, we are not prepared to accept our author's statements in regard to the "Genesis of the Soul," of which, perhaps, it will be sufficient to say that they are "reprinted from *The Spiritualist.*"

The Berwick Hymnal, and *Children's Services, with Hymns and Songs.* Edited by the Rev. A. W. OXFORD, Vicar of St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

THE appearance of these two little volumes might almost have been chronicled in our "Ecclesiastical Notes," for surely never in the history of the Church has a more catholic hymn-book appeared. There is no need to select names to prove this; take them alphabetically in the

preface, as the permission to use hymns is acknowledged, and we have Felix Adler, Dendy Agate, Mrs. Alexander, S. Baring-Gould, Canon Baynes, Prof. Blackie, A. G. W. Blunt, H. Bonar, J. Borthwick, Canon Bright, Stopford Brooke, Phillips Brooks, Miss Cobbe, J. Ellerton, the Bishop of Exeter, &c. The names of Newman, Lynch, Lyte, Waring, Proctor, and many others familiar to all lovers of hymns, will also be found. One characteristic of this Hymn-Book is the number of hymns by American writers.

To trace 500 hymns to their original sources, and to decide on each one whether it shall be altered, and if so how, is a task demanding years of patient search and consideration, and we cannot expect every one who edits a book for his own congregation to undertake it; but we cannot help thinking that in some cases Mr. Oxford would have preferred the original form if he had known it, *e. g.*, in the hymn "Thou who didst stoop below," which he has in the form, "Thou who in life below." It can scarcely be that any theological scruples of his own would lead him to sing "Dear image of our life, Look on us through the strife," where the author originally wrote "O Thou who art our life, Be with us through the strife." And there was nothing that required altering in hymn 86—"A voice upon the midnight air." But few things are easier to find fault wih than the editing of a hymn-book—few things more difficult to perform to one's own satisfaction. We can heartily recommend Mr. Oxford's collection as one that will contain old friends for many and new friends for many more readers. Any lover of religious poetry will find it well worth his while to add this to his collection. This little volume does not seek comparison with Martineau's "Hymns of Praise and Prayer," which is probably the fullest and best collection of hymns and sacred poetry that exists. The names of those who have been laid under contribution, and the fact that the volume contains at least 350 hymns which are not in Dr. Martineau's book, must make every one to whose heart the hymns of this age appeal wish to add this to it as a supplementary volume for private use, if not in the church.

The second of the two volumes before us contains seven short services for children, and about 150 hymns. It is drawn up on the same lines as the hymn-book. Whether the prayers in it have been authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and are "in accordance with the law" or not, we do not presume to say; but, at any rate, they bear the impress of childlike Christian piety, and are in accordance with the Gospel, which will, we hope, be sufficient to commend them to many who are trying to bring the Spirit of Christ to bear upon the children of our cities and villages.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

APRIL.

26.—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Hundred and eighty-sixth anniversary. The report shows an income for the past year of £105,711 14s. 11d. The number of ordained missionaries, including nine bishops, is 571. Of these 101 in Asia and 16 in Africa are natives. There are also more than 2,000 lay teachers and catechists, most of them natives.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided, called attention to the great variety in the form and matter of the instruction which missionaries had now to give in various parts of the world. In India, for example, it was absolutely necessary that they should have wise and learned men versed in evidences, in criticism, and in the philosophy of religion. On the other hand, men were wanted who could communicate Christianity in its simplicity. They had been told that there were parts of the world where Mohammedanism was doing more good than Christianity. The races in the immense valley of the Congo, stretching almost from one side of Africa to the other, were being maddened and poisoned by the drink which we used that great water-way to convey to them. Destruction was being brought to them instead of salvation.

27.—Council Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. A considerable discussion took place as to the desirability of purchasing the copyright of some hymn-book in order that it might be published by the Association in a cheap form. The two books suggested as suitable, if either of them could be purchased, being Dr. Martineau's "Hymns of Praise and Prayer," and the Rev. W. Oxford's "Berwick Hymnal." The latter, it was stated, contained 501 hymns, of which 163 were by Unitarians. The following resolution was carried:—

"That it be a recommendation to the Executive Committee to consider the practicability of adopting, and if necessary purchasing, the copyright of some existing hymn-book, so that it can be published in a cheap and readable form."

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

"That this Council is not of opinion that any ministers of religion should as such be appointed State officers for the administration and registration of marriages. That the Bill introduced by the Attorney-General instead of removing disabilities now existing with regard to marriages in Dissenting places of worship would rather tend to increase them. That the Council would earnestly desire that the Bill be withdrawn."

"That this Council approves of the Bill to amend the law as to Oaths which is now before Parliament, and which is designed to give to all parties the option of making an affirmation instead of taking an oath, in all cases in which the taking of an oath is now compulsory, and that a petition to Parliament to this effect, signed by the President and Secretary on behalf of the Council, be forwarded to the promoters of the Bill."

Mr. Courtney Kenny's Bill to repeal the laws for prosecution for blasphemy was considered.

Dr. Blake Odgers, moving the approval of the Bill, defended the "Indian Clause," which provides against any publication, address, or exhibition of any picture or symbol with the intention of giving offence in regard to religious opinion. An amendment on the resolution was moved in favour of omitting the "Indian Clause." After some discussion, both the resolution and the amendment were withdrawn, and the following resolution carried unanimously :—

"That this Council approves of the Bill for the Abolition of Prosecutions against laymen for the expression of opinion on matters of religion, subject to some modification of the concluding proviso, so as to prevent any restriction whatever being imposed on the freest exposition of opinions, however heretical, and that a petition to Parliament to this effect, signed by the President and Secretary on behalf of the Council, be forwarded to the promoters of the Bill."

25—28.—Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland; Dr. Culross, President. The report shows that upwards of £20,000 has passed through the hands of the Council during the past year.

"The Council has expressed disapprobation of the Marriages (Attendance of Registrars) Bill now before Parliament. The returns from the churches show accommodation in 3,737 chapels for 1,192,274 persons. The reported and estimated membership in 2,742 churches was 316.316, being an increase of 377 upon the registered membership of the year 1885. The number of Sunday-school teachers (reported and estimated) was 49,436, and scholars 479,294, being a decrease of six teachers and an increase of 6,564 scholars. The amount expended on new chapels, according to the schedule returns, was £54,000, providing sittings for 12,000 persons."

Dr. Clifford was appointed Vice-president. The Rev. J. Douglas objected to this appointment, stating that in point of zeal, ability, scholarship, and gifts Dr. Clifford stood among the foremost not only of Baptists, but of Nonconformists generally; but he did not look upon him as a sufficient exponent of the faith once delivered to the saints for the office of vice-president. "Dr. Clifford's mistake on the subject of Abraham argued very great lack, indeed, of Evangelical views." Mr. Douglas said, however, that he expected to be in a minority of one, and, on a vote being taken, he actually proved to be in a minority of eight. Dr. Clifford, in the course of a short speech, in acknowledgment of the appointment, said :—

"I maintain that the best theology a man can have—and no doubt Mr. Douglas will agree with me—is that which God gives to him as He is pleased to reveal His Son in him. Concerning my own orthodoxy I have not the shadow of a doubt. . . . I ask anybody to test it by a fair interpretation of the Scriptures—not by any creeds; but if they will go straight to the Bible, to the New Testament, and to Jesus Christ, I claim we are most loyal to Him."

The address of the President, Dr. Culross, is remarkable for the intensity of faith in Christ which it displays, and the absence of dogmatic statements concerning Christ. It is an appeal for the Christian spirit and the Christian life, rather than a defence of any denominational position or doctrine. After warning his hearers against all unworthy means of trying to increase the numbers or influence of the members of

their churches, he passed on to the special consideration of some of the virtues which it was the characteristic duty of the Christian churches to manifest, and which must form their attractive power. The following are some of the more important passages :—

"Our special business is to do those 'greater things' of which we have the beginnings in New Testament history—to open men's eyes, to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among the sanctified, and so to build up that Kingdom which is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. . . . The one thing essential is that our methods be in harmony with the genius of the Gospel. Thus (to give an example or two) we dare not accept the patronage and control of the State. . . . Again, we dare not employ bribery in any shape or form. . . . And if any sect, established or non-established, should bribe away members of our congregations, or children of our Sunday-schools, we dare not bribe them back again. . . . Once more, in order to promote the Gospel, we dare not stoop to carnal devices—like comic singing or play-acting. . . . We must put our soul's truth, our soul's integrity, our soul's loyalty to God—in other words, our Christianity—into all we do: the builder into the wall he builds, the artisan into the work he turns out, the manufacturer into his cloth, the magistrate into his administration of justice, the member of Parliament into his law-making, and so on throughout. . . . It ought to be no unsafe experiment for men to take their idea of Christ from what they see in the Christian Church. . . . I would name one or two things, by way of example, on which stress deserves to be laid to-day. For one thing, I would name spiritual-mindedness, meaning that condition of mind which lies open to spiritual realities, and is responsive to their influence. . . . The practical outcome of this spirituality of mind is not merely prayerfulness and unworldliness, but righteousness of life. And our churches are to preach righteousness, as the fruit of the Gospel, by practising it—ruled in every transaction by truth, honour, and unswerving rectitude. . . . 'A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth'—neither does a church's, nor a nation's. If we have life in the Divine sense, we shall indeed be able to turn earthly possessions to good account; we shall know how to make them serve heavenly uses, and our daily business will become a training for the immortal kingdom; but life itself does not 'consist' in possessions, and is not dependent upon them. Let the world see that we seek first the kingdom of God, that we are to be counted upon for unswerving righteousness, and that not a man among us will descend to anything underhand for the most splendid bribe than can be offered, and our testimony will have a power that no man can measure. Another feature of the Christ-life I would name—Benevolence that takes in all human interests, individual, social, political, religious, and counts nothing alien that belongs to man—benevolence kindled at the sacred flame of His, who loved us and gave Himself for us. . . . With deepened, purified, and intensified benevolence, that shrinks neither from sacrifice nor from shame for Christ's sake, I am persuaded that, under God, our power for good throughout the land might be multiplied an hundredfold. Just one other aspect of the Christ-life I name—its holiness. . . . The holiness which is the power of our churches is just a pure, glad heart, expressing itself in a pure, glad life. 'They are not of the world,' says the Master, 'even as I am not of the world.' Look away from all fantastic saintliness, from the sanctity of a disfigured countenance and twang of the voice, from theories of holiness that men have framed for themselves, and, above all, avoid the dread danger of measuring holiness by self-consciousness, and see in Jesus Christ the holy character God means us to possess. It implies the yielding up of the whole being to the Divine will—not as a block of marble is passive and pulseless in the sculptor's hands, but as Jesus yielded Himself in trusting love to the Father—a yielding which involves at once the fullest consent of the will and the most perfect energy of our nature. . . . From one quarter the cry comes up, not flippantly, but from well-nigh breaking hearts that have stumbled into doubt against their seeking: Is there in very truth a living God, who is Light and Love? Or is there only eternal matter and change-

less law? And is the God of my childhood, to whom my mother taught me to say 'Our Father who art in heaven,' an illusion that melts away before advancing light and science? Is heaven empty and earth fatherless?—On another side, from some blasted spot in one of our great cities, where human beings are huddled together in poverty and squalor, and have all but abandoned hope whether in God or man, a voice rises piercingly: Have you aught to say about human brotherhood? Not a stone's cast from us is wealth, luxury, refinement, a civilisation such as the world never saw before, churches glorious to look at but into which shame forbids us to venture; and here, in miserable dens, we are herding like wild beasts, the life crushed out of us by hunger and want. We were born into this state; so are our children; and we see no redemption from it: have you any help for us? Has your Gospel anything in it to meet our case? . . . We do not want your Mansion House Funds and your so-called charities; we want a change of the system which bears the evil fruit. There must be a terrible wrong somewhere: can you do anything to remedy it?—In another quarter one sobs out: 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?' . . . Can your Christ make anything of a life so misused and wasted as mine? or must sin work itself out in death? . . . It is of no use to put the questioner off with rhetoric, or authority, or pious abuse and calling of bad names. . . . If you can answer our questions, the questioner says, then answer them; if you cannot, then hold your peace.

"The real answer to man's need is Jesus Christ. Not that vague, powerless abstraction called 'Christianity' which never saved anybody, and never will; but Jesus Christ Himself, wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, exalted to the right hand of power, conquering carnal selfish hearts by the magnanimity of suffering love. . . . Calmly facing the ages, He says: 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden'—come with your questions, your perplexities and dreads, with your failures, with your heart-sickness, with your sin and shame and misery and vain regrets—come, all of you,—'and I will give you rest.' . . . Oh, if we could but let men see the face of Christ! Yet this is just where we fail the most. Our creeds and theologies often hide or misrepresent instead of revealing Him; so, too, not seldom, does our very evangelism—it is so meagre, narrow, unspiritual, mechanical, unsympathetic. Little wonder if men turn away uninterested. Oh, for the great humility that will make us content to be each a finger pointing to the Christ! . . . . Our churches, if they are to be of use, must be composed of men to whom the Gospel has proved itself, who know Jesus Christ as a living Friend, whose hearts beat true to Him, whose lives (however lowly) are beautiful, and sweet, and winsome, and who can say, each in his measure, 'I delight to do Thy will, O my God.'"

MAY.

4.—Eighty-third Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The report shows income, &c., as follows:—

"The free income for the year amounted to £116,761. The sum received for Scriptures sold, both at home and abroad, had been £104,888. The expenditure had been £231,776. The issues of the society for the year had been 3,932,678 copies in Bibles, Testaments and portions. The total issues of the society since its commencement now amounted to 112,253,547 copies."

The Bishop of Manchester, referring to a statement in the Report that there was in Europe a bitter infidelity hostile to the Bible, said:—

"He believed it was partly caused by injudicious friends of the Bible, by what he might call Bibliolaters. A Bibliolater was a man who thought that the Bible was an encyclopædia of all knowledge, a sort of *vade mecum* of the chronologist and archæologist and historian and physicist, that it was bound to be accurate down to its last figure and letter. . . . The Bibliolater was, he believed, very largely the cause of the want of universal acceptance of the blessed Word of Life, for he supplied the professional infidel with his stock-in-trade. It was his

[the infidel's] object to show that, on the theory of the Bibliolater, the Bible could not be accepted as an authentic record of fact; for arming himself with Bishop Colenso's application of arithmetic to theology he delighted to exhibit his knowledge that in the dozens of instances which he cited the numerical statements of Holy Writ were inconsistent with one another and flatly incredible. . . . On the theory of the Bibliolater those arguments could not be answered; but throwing Bibliolatry aside, as they were bound to do in the interests of truth, acknowledging that there was imperfection and mistake amongst the people, acknowledging that the modern theory about the purpose and inspiration of the Bible might be wrong. . . . Then the whole aspect of the matter was changed, and the Bible could be acknowledged to be the Word of God indeed."

9—13. Annual Meetings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The Rev. A. Mackennal, D.D., President.

The President in his address, speaking of the dividing lines of Ecclesiastical Controversy at the present day, said:—

"The old classification of Church polities into the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational, has ceased to be of practical moment. If it be recognised that the government of each particular church is in its membership, we may adopt diocesan and connexional methods of administrations, not only without mischief, but even with the best results. . . . Church controversy in England to-day is between these three ideas—the Sacerdotal, the National, and the Congregational; and in this controversy the interests of the kingdom of Christ are intimately concerned. I shall not add many words to our past and present testimony against the sacramentarianism of the Established Church. Our objection to it is that the system is magical, not spiritual. . . . There is, however, a sub-genus of the sacerdotal idea, which I may call officialism; under its influence the most precious things of the Church die out, or put on an odious form. The trustworthiness of piety stiffens into a dogma of infallibility; and the Church asserts authority instead of commending itself to men's judgments and consciences and hearts. Officialism may exist where there is no sacramentarian leaven; it is a constant peril among ourselves. The churches are ever resigning the functions of the whole membership into the hands of their ordained ministers; and not only into their hands, but also into the hands of that changing body known by the modern name of 'workers.' . . . A question which is sometimes put to us in all charity and good faith—'Why do you not bring your special sentiments about the spiritual life as your contribution to the Established Church? there is need of conceptions like yours of religious possibilities to counteract the tendency to worldliness inevitable in a National Church; join us and leaven us with your leaven. Help us to repeal the act of uniformity, and secure parochial government of the churches; they will then be as free to you as to us, and you will have such a platform for the propagation of your doctrines as you cannot have in your separation.' We recognise the force of this appeal; we feel the allurement; we are touched by the generosity of the invitation; and yet we answer—We cannot. If the Church were only, as Matthew Arnold represents it, an organisation for doing good, we might listen. But even then we should wonder where was the necessity of an institution, with a spiritual name and spiritual sanctions, to bind us together for the accomplishment of work in which we can already unite as fellow-citizens. . . . But our final answer is this: the Church of Christ is an organisation with a law, a life, an inspiration of its own; the magic has never yet been discovered which can transmute a nation into a church. *Ecclesia nascitur non fit.* Like all living things, the Church must obey its own formative idea; its growth, the mode of its development, is determined by the indwelling spirit. . . . Another form of doctrine about the Church against which Congregationalism is a protest, is what may be called the anti-church doctrine. There are many reasons why undenominational Christian efforts should be so prevalent among us as to be actually hostile to all the churches; I will not specify them lest I should wound some towards whom our only remonstrance is "*talis qui sis, utinam noster esses.*" . . . The fathers of Independency never contemplated sectarian churches with

an exclusive creed and a distinctive ritual. They taught and we affirm that a true church is an abiding fellowship of all believing persons who can conveniently gather into one assembly, bringing their various conceptions of doctrine and modes of action to enrich the common thought and practice. . . . Happily the witness of Congregationalism is not exhausted in protest; we stretch out hands of cordial fellowship to some whole communities and to many in all the Reformed fellowships. Several years ago I was asked by a lady minister of the Friends, "Why are not you and the Baptists one?" I was obliged to answer that I did not know. I am in as complete ignorance on the point to-day as I was then. . . With the Presbyterians, too, we have much in common; our family likeness is only illustrated by our characteristic differences. What a history is that of the Presbyterian and the Congregational—or as it used to be, the Presbyterian and Congregational—Churches! Twin children of the Reformation, with the same type of doctrine and idea of social worship; aiming at the same end, yet contesting each point which it was possible to contest; with quarrels always ending in attempts at reconciliation, and reconciliation ever thwarted when it seemed assured. . . . The cessation of the Calvinist and Arminian controversy in the larger thought of our time, and the general acceptance of the fact that special seasons of spiritual quickening may be expected and should be specially employed for spiritual culture, has revealed to us how much there is in common between us and the Methodist connexions. Their churches and ours have been complementary, rather than antagonistic, to each other. . . . In the most heated times of the separatist controversy, our fathers made no attempt to unchurch all the adherents of the National Episcopal establishment. . . . We rejoice in the piety, the self-devotedness, the sacrificial labours, and saintly temper of many, laity as well as clergy, women as well as men, in the Established Church. . . . We Congregationalists are said to be 'excellent members of the Church militant,' and we do not repel the commendation. But we are not indifferent to the blessing of the peacemakers. Quite as significant as our contests for truth and righteousness is our desire to come to an understanding with our brethren; we should 'hail with profound satisfaction any movement which would lead to conference of all the Evangelical bodies on the momentous question—how they can best contend together to bring the masses of the English people into the obedience of the faith of Christ.'"

The Report on Examinations in Religious Knowledge showed the number of candidates presented as follows:—Ecclesiastical Polity, 43; Christian Evidences, 42; Scripture History and Doctrine, 263; Essayists, 33. The committee was instructed to confine the examination of 1888 to Christian Evidences and Ecclesiastical Polity, including Congregational Church History, the examinations in Scripture History and Doctrine being sufficiently provided for by the Sunday-School Union.

The Rev. J. G. Rogers, moving a resolution on Disestablishment dwelt at some length on the letters of the Bishop of Winchester and the proceedings in Convocation in reference to clergymen preaching in Nonconformist chapels. These seem to some extent to have affected the form of the resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the recent declarations of certain dignitaries of the Established Church indicate the growth of sacerdotal temper and teaching contrary to the fundamental principles of Protestantism, injurious to the highest interests of spiritual religion, and fatal to all hopes of a Catholic fellowship between different Churches; that the sanction given to these exclusive pretensions by the State in the existence of the National Church imposes upon Protestant Nonconformists, and especially upon Congregationalists, the duty of not only contending for that perfect religious equality by which alone injustice will be removed, but also of giving greater predominance to those ecclesiastical principles for which they have always contended, and in the maintenance of which the best counteractive of these sacerdotal doctrines will be found."

The following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That, in the judgment of the Assembly, it is desirable that steps be taken for the formation of Guilds in connection with the Congregational churches of the country for promoting purity of life, and for such other purposes connected with the moral welfare of the community and the prosperity of the churches as may be agreed upon; and instructs the committee to appoint a special committee to draft a scheme for such guilds, and report to the Assembly at its autumnal meetings."

At the final session, on the Friday, three papers were read and a discussion held on "Conditions of Increased Spirituality in the Churches." Papers were read and the discussion conducted under the four heads: (1) The Pulpit; (2) Pastoral Oversight; (3) The Realisation of Christian Fellowship; (4) Christ's Presence in the Church.

10—15.—Convocation of Canterbury. In the Upper House a resolution was agreed to, requesting the President

"To apply for the assent and licence of the Crown for making a canon to enlarge and rearrange the representation of the clergy of the Province of Canterbury in Convocation in conformity with the annexed tables."

The table was divided under the heads, "Dioceses," "Archdeaconries," "Number of proctors at present," "Number of proctors proposed."

A gravamen was presented respecting the use of wine not made from the grape in the communion service, and a resolution passed expressing confidence that the Bishop of any diocese would take serious notice of any such irregularity if evidence of it were produced.

The Committee appointed in February last to consider the proposed Bill for empowering deacons, ordained after the age of thirty, to continue in their secular occupations, presented its report. After quoting the resolution of the Upper House, of February 15, 1884, and referring to the history of the diaconate, the report concludes :—

"And it is evident that a broad distinction must be drawn between allowing or encouraging clergymen to assist in maintaining themselves by secular labour as St. Paul did, and admitting to the sacred ministry men already devoted to secular occupations and purposing to continue in their callings. We thus could not recommend any relaxation of the existing laws, unless it could be shown that the necessity for doing so had passed into that state of spiritual urgency which has ever been regarded by the Catholic Church as justifying departure from existing disciplinary practice. That the need is great, not only in our populous towns, but in scattered hamlets throughout our country parishes, for an increase of ordained ministers cannot be denied. But the measure proposed in law was so great a departure from the long-continued practice of the Catholic Church, that we do not judge it to be desirable at the present time to take any step in regard to facilitating an entry into the diaconate beyond that which has been taken in the passing of the above-cited resolution."

The report was adopted. The resolution of 1884 referred to was as follows :—

"This House is of opinion that, in view of the overwhelming need of increase in the number of the ministry, and the impossibility of providing sufficient endowments for the purpose, it is expedient to ordain to the office of deacon men possessing other means of living who are willing to aid the clergy gratuitously, provided that they be tried and examined according to the Preface of the Ordinal, and in particular be found to possess a complete knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of the Book of Common Prayer, and of theology in general; provided also

that they be in no case admitted to the priesthood unless they can pass all the examinations which are required in the case of other candidates for that office, and that they shall have devoted their whole time to spiritual labour for not less than four years, unless they are graduates, before they present themselves for these examinations."

The *articulus cleri* of the Lower House, of February 9, against clergymen preaching in Dissenting Chapels, was brought up and considered.

The *Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol*, in the course of a speech supporting the statements of the *articulus cleri*, said:—

"The gravity of the position, then, is this: that certain clergymen—to whom I am sure your lordships would wish to ascribe nothing but the best motives, and to whom those who sent up this *articulus cleri* ascribe no other motives (though this does not in any degree remove the seriousness of the existing state of things)—have, thus far deliberately, entered into what it is impossible to call otherwise than a communion in worship with those who are not only not in communion with us, but have plainly repudiated that communion. . . . If any legally prohibitory steps were taken I believe we should at once find that an appeal to the courts of law would be necessitated, and I believe also that the issue would be very uncertain. . . . But I do think that some expression from your lordships—serious, firm, and yet at the same time wise and conciliatory—might lead those who have espoused this, which I must call dangerous, course to reconsider their position, and to retrace their steps. . . . I cannot but think that the united wisdom of your lordships may put forward such a form of words as may go far to stop this perilous movement. I do trust, then, that such words may now go forth from this House as may at once, by the grace of God and with the aid of the Holy Ghost, repress that which may, if left unrepressed, assume very dangerous dimensions, and tend really to break up, as the *articulus cleri* suggests, those peaceful relations which we are most desirous to maintain with our brethren of Nonconformity. . . . I desire them to be clear; I desire them to be firm; but at the same time I strongly desire that they should be gentle and conciliatory."

The *Bishop of Winchester* said:—

" . . . Attention has recently been called in many ways, and especially now by the discussion in the Lower House of Convocation and the *articulus cleri* which they have sent up to us, to a practice which until now, at all events, was almost unknown in this country. There may have been a century ago practices of this description, but since then until very recently I do not think anything of the kind has occurred; and the way in which the Lower House has laid the matter before us makes it imperative upon us seriously to consider the question. But I venture to appeal to your Grace and your lordships to consider it in the calmest, gentlest, and most conciliatory form, while, at the same time, not laying aside that firmness of which the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol has spoken. . . . The taking of a legal view of the case is what I would deprecate except in the last resort. . . . I think this is not so much a question of law as of Church order, and I venture to think that preaching or taking part in the religious worship of those not in communion with our own Church is against all primitive practice, against all Catholic usage. But it is also, I think, especially against the principles of our own Reformation. . . . The Reformation, I hold, did not mean what many people think. It did not mean the right of private judgment. It did not mean the Bible only as the religion of Protestants, though all this may have followed on it. . . . English Christendom—our English Church—threw off the tyranny of the supremacy of the Church of Rome, which was a tremendous tyranny and also a source of corruption in the faith, and reformed herself on the principles of the primitive Church. . . . If the whole of Europe had reformed, England would not have acted alone. But failing this, the nation and the Church as a great unity rose up and reformed itself. Unless there

had been a dire necessity for such a reform I, for one, hold that it would have been a terrible sin. I do not think that can be too strongly laid down. If the reform had not been called for by the direst necessity, it would have been one of the most terrible sins ever committed by man. But England held—the English Church held—and we, I think, as Bishops of the English Church, hold, that there was a tremendous necessity, and that, therefore, the Church was justified in reforming herself upon primitive models. She did so reform herself, and it was a great national movement of a great national Church. Now, I have the greatest respect for Dissenters, or Nonconformists as they prefer to call themselves now; but the very principle of Dissent is a denial of the principle of the English Reformation. I have laid down, I think, the principle of the Reformation. It was a great nation and a great Church reforming itself, when it was impossible to get the whole of Christendom to reform itself. But the Dissenters have a totally different principle—namely, that for very slight differences of opinion you may separate from a great national Church, and that any body of men that like may set up a new church of their own. That, I say, is in direct antagonism to the principles of the English Reformation. So it seems to me that any who belong to the Church of England—the great Catholic Church of this country, the great Church of the English Reformation—are altogether inconsistent, and to a certain extent rebels against the principles of the Reformation if they join in public worship with Nonconformists. . . . In all these cases I feel it is better to act by suasion and paternal influence than by legal action. I think it very likely that legal action might be successful, but on the whole I doubt altogether whether it is what is most desirable. Again, I have the strongest possible feeling of desire for closer union with all Christians. . . . But, differing from the principle of those who, instead of trying to untie the knot of disunion, are prepared to cut it, I still think our best way is to act by suasion and kindness. With that view I hope I may be allowed to submit to your Grace and this House the following resolution:—

"'In the opinion of this House it is contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church, as maintained at the English Reformation, that clergymen should take part in the public religious services of those who are not in full communion with the Church of England, and that it is desirable that the Bishops should use their authority and influence to induce the clergy of their respective dioceses to abstain from such practices. Nevertheless, this House deeply sympathises with the desire to bring all Christians to closer communion with each other through union with the Great Head of the Church, and recognises the fact that there are many ways of maintaining kindly intercourse with Nonconformists which are not open to reasonable objection.'"

The resolution was seconded by the *Bishop of Bath and Wells*, and carried *nem. con.*

In the Lower House the following resolution was carried:—

"That his Grace the President be requested to direct the appointment of a committee to inquire into the prevalence and growth of betting and gambling among persons of all conditions and employments; to examine into causes thereof, and to report on any means by which the Church can check or mitigate the evil, or make suggestions thereon to the Legislature."

A resolution was also passed expressing sympathy with the clergy suffering from the present agricultural depression; also a resolution urging the withdrawal of the Cathedral Statutes Bill, and requesting the Upper House to prepare a new Bill.

In relation to the imprisonment of Mr. Bell Cox the following *gravamen et reformandum* was introduced:—

"1. That the Rev. James Bell Cox, a priest of the diocese of Liverpool, has been committed to prison in consequence of his non-compliance with certain injunctions as to the ritual observances in St. Margaret's Church, Liverpool, issued to him by a Court, the authority of which he is in conscience unable to recognise.

"That in the opinion of the undersigned such imprisonment is a scandal to the Church and a punishment entirely unsuited to the nature of the offence alleged to be committed by Mr. Bell Cox; and that, moreover, a sense of injustice is created by the harshness wherewith one class of offences is treated, whereas others of a far more serious character are left untouched.

"*Reformandum*—That his Grace the President be respectfully requested to consider whether it is possible for him to take any steps, in concurrence with the Archbishop and Bishops of the Northern Province, to prevent the continuance or the recurrence of so grave a scandal."

Amended as follows by the *Dean of Windsor*, this was adopted and converted into an *articulus cleri* and sent to the Upper House.

"That the Rev. James Bell Cox, a priest of the diocese of Liverpool, has been committed to prison for disobeying a sentence of suspension pronounced in consequence of his non-compliance with certain injunctions issued to him as to the ritual observances in St. Margaret's Church, Liverpool; (2) that, without expressing any opinion upon the details of the suit, which belonged to the Province of York, this House desires to reiterate its judgment that such imprisonment is entirely inappropriate to questions of ritual observances, causes the gravest distress to many devout members of the Church, and ought, in accordance with the resolution of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, to be abolished. *Reformandum:* That his Grace the President and the Bishops of the Upper House be respectfully requested to consider whether it is possible for them to take any steps, in concurrence with the Archbishop and Bishops of the Northern Province, to prevent the continuance or the recurrence of so grave a scandal."

The Upper House then resolved :—

"That this House concurs in the views expressed in the *articulus cleri* as regards the inappropriateness of imprisonment as a penalty ensuing on prosecutions concerning matters of ritual, and requests the President to take an early opportunity of enabling the Bishops of this Province to confer with the Archbishop and the Bishops of the Northern Province on the subject."

In the House of Laymen the following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"That this House is in favour of the abolition of imprisonment of clergymen as a means of enforcing the judgments of Ecclesiastical Courts."

The prosecution of the Rev. J. Bell Cox, of Liverpool, for alleged illegal ritual in the church of St. Margaret, which began early in 1885, culminated, May 6, 1887, in his imprisonment in Walton gaol for "contempt of Court"—*i.e.*, for conscientiously conducting the services in his church in accordance with what he believes to be the law of the Church. There have, of course, been many protests from meetings of Church societies. The resolutions in Convocation we have given above. It is noteworthy that at the meeting of the Congregational Union this case of imprisonment for religion was urged as a strong argument for Disestablishment, which would make such a penalty impossible; and that the English Church Union has passed unanimously a resolution in the following form :—

"That this meeting of the English Church Union, recognising the principle for which Mr. Bell Cox has been contending, and for his loyalty to which he is now suffering imprisonment, sees in that imprisonment a call to renewed and more vigorous effort on the part of Churchmen to regain for the Church of England the free exercise of her right to decide finally for herself in all spiritual causes."